

TIME

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A BET'**

INSIDE
TRUMP'S
PLAN TO
KEEP THE
WHITE
HOUSE





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▲ Trump's re-election office in Arlington, Va., on June 12

David Williams—*Redux for TIME*

ON THE COVER:
President Trump in the Oval Office on June 17. Photograph by Pari Dukovic for TIME

From the Editor

Doing his own thing

ONE OF THE MANY IRONIES OF DONALD TRUMP’S presidency is that for all his vitriol toward journalists—language that has been dangerously echoed by autocrats around the world—he is intensely interested in the inner workings of the media. Trump is fluent in the language of TV ratings, thanks in part to his *Apprentice* days. He remembers and cites stories from years back. He tracks and characterizes magazine covers like they’re votes.

All of which was on display as TIME’s Washington bureau chief Massimo Calabresi, White House correspondents Brian Bennett and Tessa Berenson, and I interviewed the President in the Oval Office on June 17, a day ahead of the formal launch of his 2020 campaign. An allotted 30 minutes for the interview and photo shoot stretched to more than an hour, as he brushed off press secretary Sarah Huckabee Sanders’ repeated calls for “last question.” At the outset of our session, Trump told me that he had heard TIME was doing well, cheering that as good news and citing a particular story he liked—even as he went on to blast his coverage in TIME as “a disgrace” later in the conversation.

Also on display was the degree to which, 2½ years into his presidency, Trump has morphed the White House and its protocols to his unique personality. Noting that our dependence on oil from the Middle East has dropped sharply, he described Iran’s alleged attacks on oil tankers in the Persian Gulf region as “very minor,” even as his then Acting Defense Secretary dispatched 1,000 more troops to the Middle East in apparent response. As we sat around the Resolute desk, he beckoned aides to bring various documents for him to show us: a map marking the demise of ISIS; a birthday greeting from the North Korean dictator Kim Jong Un (“a very nice letter,” Trump called it); a typed list of his accomplishments as President that he distributed, one copy for each of us. The three-page document cites everything from decreased unemployment to pulling out of the Paris climate deal to calling for a defense force for outer space.

FROM OUR INTERVIEW with Trump and weeks of reporting within his re-election campaign and the Republican National Committee, Brian’s cover



▲
The TIME team with Trump and senior adviser Jared Kushner, who left at the start of the interview; photographer Pari Dukovic sets up for the cover shoot

story describes in remarkable detail how campaign manager Brad Parscale and his team—rather than trying to keep Trump from fulminating on Twitter or push him toward the political center in search of swing voters—are building and monetizing their operation around his style. As the President told us, with rare understatement, “I generally do my own thing.”

About those Trump covers: the President has said that he’s been on the cover of TIME more than anyone else. While that isn’t true—the record holder is Richard Nixon, who appeared there 55 times—

Trump is accumulating covers at a rapid pace. This issue marks the 29th appearance by Trump, who’s been memorably captured inside the red border by a variety of photographers and illustrators.

The latest cover portrait was taken by Pari Dukovic, who photographed six covers for the 2019 TIME 100, and photo-directed by TIME’s Katherine Pomerantz and Paul Moakley. “President Trump surprised us by showing up early,” says Katherine. “Pari calmly engaged the President and got right to work—and within 12 minutes made this week’s cover.”

Edward

Edward Felsenthal,
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For the Record

'My persisting anger is directed not towards the idiots on the bus but the reduction of my battered face to cheap clickbait.'

"CHRIS,"

a pseudonymous *Guardian* contributor, in a June 14 op-ed written after she and her date were victims of an alleged homophobic attack on a London bus

6 of 7

Proportion of candidates for U.K. Prime Minister, after the first round of voting on June 13, who admit to using drugs

'My daughter is terrified to this day of the police.'

IESHA HARPER, subject of a viral police video, on June 17; she and Dravon Ames were arrested at gunpoint in Phoenix in May when their 4-year-old left a shop with a doll they hadn't purchased

'We clearly had a mistake in the implementation of the alert.'

DENNIS MUILENBURG, Boeing CEO, addressing on June 16 a faulty cockpit warning light in the 737 Max, which was grounded in March after two major crashes killed nearly 350 people

'There is credible evidence, warranting further investigation of high-level Saudi officials' individual liability, including the crown prince's.'

U.N. HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL, in its June 19 report into the killing of journalist Jamal Khashoggi



47.5 million

Number of people across Argentina and Uruguay who may have been affected by a massive power failure in the two countries on June 16



10

Approximate time, in hours, some visitors say they waited on June 13 to ride the new Hagrid's Magical Creatures Motorbike Adventure at Universal's Islands of Adventure theme park in Orlando

'I'M SORRY I LEFT. I WAS JUST BEING A BRAT.'

GERI HORNER, also known as Ginger Spice, apologizing for quitting the Spice Girls in 1998, on the June 15 closing night of their reunion tour

Kitten ears
A Pakistani politician's press conference was livestreamed with a filter that gave participants cat ears



Puppy eyes
Study reveals dogs evolved special eyebrow muscles to make cute faces



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PACIFIC NORTHWEST

ALASKA

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The Brief

STILL FIGHTING
Hong Kong
protesters
hold up a coat
on June 16 in
memory of a man
who died at an
earlier rally



INSIDE

THE DIFFICULTY OF KEEPING
EBOLA FROM CROSSING BORDERS

THE LATEST TWIST IN THE
POLITICS OF BIRTH CONTROL

THE LEGACY OF EGYPT'S
MOHAMED MORSI

PHOTOGRAPH BY ANTHONY WALLACE

WORLD

Hong Kong's uprising rattles the mainland

By Charlie Campbell

SMELLING BLOOD, THE PROTESTERS THROGGED in greater numbers. Demonstrations against an extradition bill in Hong Kong swelled on June 16 even after the city's political leader, Chief Executive Carrie Lam, suspended the controversial legislation. March organizers say nearly 2 million people, young and old, packed the city center demanding the bill's complete withdrawal and Lam's resignation. Given that the former British colony's population is 7 million, it's hard to imagine a more stinging indictment of Hong Kong's leadership.

Lam is hanging on, for now. She issued a "most sincere apology," though it was quickly rejected by demonstrators. They accuse her of jeopardizing Hong Kong's judicial independence by attempting to fast-track changes to the Basic Law, which introduced effective self-rule for 50 years from the moment in 1997 the British handed over the colony to China under a model dubbed "one country, two systems." The amendment would have allowed criminals to be extradited to territories including the Chinese mainland, where chances of a fair trial are best summed up by its conviction rate of 99%.

The chief executive is widely seen in Hong Kong as a loyalist to Beijing, and her humbling backpedal will reverberate on the mainland. The sight of millions of Chinese citizens standing tall to reproach the political system that governs the rest of the country will be chastening to President Xi Jinping and his much hyped Great Rejuvenation of the Chinese Nation. Xi is paying the price for overreaching, says Jude Blanchette, an analyst at Crumpton Group and author of a new book on China's resurgent revolutionary ideology. "He's managed to alienate China and frustrate its forward progress."

THE POPULAR REVOLUTION in Hong Kong comes as Xi is facing international pushback on a variety of fronts. His signature Belt and Road Initiative is running into red tape and political opposition in Europe. State repression of Uighur Muslims in Xinjiang is being held up as an international emergency by human-rights groups and multilateral institutions. And his Made in China 2025 technology drive is being derailed by the trade war with the U.S. It's possible demonstrators will still be on the streets of Hong Kong when Xi sits down with his U.S. counterpart Donald Trump at the G-20 in Osaka, Japan, in late June to negotiate a truce. The U.S. President noted to TIME on June 17

that the Hong Kong protests were "having a big impact."

The likely failure of the bill is an embarrassment to Xi, but not much of an obstacle. Demonstrators note that China has already eroded Hong Kong's autonomy through the extrajudicial rendition in 2015 of five booksellers who published salacious tomes about Beijing elites. And "one country, two systems" has an expiry date, meaning the protesters' victory may prove hollow in the long term. In 2047 the topic of extradition will be "top of the agenda," says Simon Young of the University of Hong Kong's law school. "When it's addressed at that time, I fear that none of the safeguards discussed now will exist."

There will be a more immediate cost to the Chinese economy, though. Hong Kong's slippery legal jurisdiction has long made it attractive to criminals; its port has historically been safe harbor for smugglers, its skyscrapers provide semilegal gloss for North Korean shell companies, and its archaic banking system has proven fruitful to money launderers. This freewheeling status was once a boon to the

impoverished mainland. In the mid-1990s, Hong Kong's economy comprised almost a third of China's GDP. Now that figure is less than 3%, and the same laissez-faire capitalism has become a hitch on the Chinese economy's growth through capital flight. The extradition bill was arguably less about cracking down on Hong Kongers than about preventing Chinese businesspeople and officials from using Hong Kong to expatriate ill-gotten gains as growth slows.

Perhaps the bigger cost will be to Xi's territorial ambitions. Since its inception, "one country, two systems" has been floated as a means of reuniting the mainland with the island of Taiwan, which has ruled itself since the defeated Nationalists fled across the strait in 1949 after China's civil war. Reunification is key to Xi's "China Dream" of returning the Asian superpower to "center stage in the world."

But the Hong Kong protests have galvanized support for Taiwan's China-skeptic President Tsai Ing-wen, whose policy is to keep Beijing at arm's length. Even her most pro-China opponent in the 2020 general election, prospective Nationalist candidate Han Kuo-yu, said recently on the hustings that "one country, two systems" would be introduced in Taiwan only "over my dead body."

This provocation to Xi's authority and ambition is not likely to go unmet in Hong Kong. Protest instigators might expect to be accused of acting on behalf of hostile foreign forces. Party propaganda and patriotic education may also be ramped up. Few believe the strongman in Beijing will take this affront lying down. "Xi Jinping will increase party control wherever he can," says professor Steve Tsang, director of the SOAS China Institute at the University of London. "He will not tolerate Hong Kong challenging him." Blood may be in the water, but Hong Kongers shouldn't forget the largest predator in these parts. —*With reporting by HILLARY LEUNG/HONG KONG* □

'I have heard you loud and clear ... I offer my most sincere apology to all the people in Hong Kong.'

CARRIE LAM,
chief executive





UNDER FIRE A security guard and a civilian run as bullets ricochet off a federal courthouse when a masked gunman (*far back left*) opens fire in Dallas on June 17. He was fatally shot by authorities; no injuries were reported. Veteran photographer Tom Fox of the *Dallas Morning News*—on-site for a routine assignment—told his newspaper he “squeezed off a few frames” before running to hide. “I just kept thinking, ‘He’s going to look at me around that corner and he’s going to shoot.’”

THE BULLETIN

As Ebola continues to spread in Congo, Uganda watches nervously

AN ONGOING EBOLA OUTBREAK HAS already caused 1,400 deaths in the Democratic Republic of Congo—and across the border, Ugandan authorities are bracing for their own possible outbreak of the deadly virus. Though the World Health Organization (WHO) decided on June 14 not to classify the outbreak as an international emergency, two people died of Ebola after returning to Uganda from a trip to the Congo in early June, and health workers fear the porous border between the countries could allow the disease to spread.

BAD SITUATION Congo’s 10-month outbreak has been the second worst since Ebola, which causes fatal dehydration and organ failure in up to 90% of cases, first surfaced in 1976. There have been over 2,000 cases since August, and guerrilla violence has made it hard to contain, as attacks on medical centers have killed health workers and prompted agencies to suspend operations at times. A lack of public awareness has also been an obstacle. Mistaking the initial symptoms for malaria, communities often fail to isolate patients and handle still infectious corpses during traditional burials.

READY OR NOT The WHO said authorities had identified 112 people in Uganda who may have come into contact with Ebola, and quarantined some of them. Uganda’s science and drug agencies, looking to preempt a large-scale outbreak, also approved three new experimental treatments for the virus on June 18. But Uganda’s Health Minister said unofficial footpaths on the border with Congo—which people from both countries use regularly to visit family—will make containment difficult, and some Ugandan hospital workers say they lack the resources to tackle Ebola if it comes.

BROAD THREAT The WHO has warned that the world is entering “a new phase” where epidemics of deadly diseases are the “new normal,” with the agency tracking more of them than ever before. Congo’s Ebola outbreak comes just two years after the worst one in history ended in West Africa in 2016. As climate change and political instability drive populations to move around more, it’s getting harder to contain diseases. As Uganda prepares for the current threat, doctors are urging all governments to follow their lead for the future. —CIARA NUGENT

NEWS TICKER

Four shot at Toronto parade

Four people were injured when shots were fired at a victory rally on June 17 for the Toronto Raptors, after they won the NBA championship. **Raptors players and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau were present**, along with up to 2 million fans. Three suspects were arrested.

Acting Defense Secretary steps down

President Trump announced on Twitter that former Boeing exec Patrick Shanahan was leaving his post as acting Secretary of Defense on June 18, the same day press reports drew attention to domestic violence in his family. Shanahan also **withdrew from consideration for the permanent Cabinet position**.

Facebook launches Libra currency

Facebook revealed on June 18 that it’s introducing a digital currency called Libra. Similar to Bitcoin, the currency—scheduled to launch in the next six to 12 months—will **enable users to make financial transactions on a stand-alone app** or via Facebook Messenger and WhatsApp.

NEWS TICKER

Parkland student out at Harvard

Kyle Kashuv—one of the survivors of the shooting at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School last year and one of the few who publicly defended gun rights in its wake—said on June 17 that Harvard rescinded its admission offer after learning of a **trove of racist comments he wrote** when he was 16.

China said to be harvesting organs

A U.K.-based independent tribunal said on June 17 that **detainees in China are being killed for organ transplants**, despite the country's repeatedly denying similar allegations. Victims are believed to include members of the religious minority group Falun Gong and possibly the Uighur ethnic group.

High court upholds gerrymander fix

The U.S. Supreme Court sided with Democrats in Virginia on June 17 when it held that Republicans there **did not have the right to challenge a lower-court opinion that they had racially gerrymandered** state legislative districts. The decision will result in maps favoring Democrats in this fall's elections.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF

The political battle for over-the-counter birth control

ALMOST EXACTLY 59 YEARS AGO, THE U.S. Food and Drug Administration approved the first medication specifically intended for use as birth control. The Pill, as it came to be known, has been popular with large majorities of the American public ever since. Yet women in the U.S. cannot buy this extremely common product without a prescription. The science says it's safe, all the major medical groups have endorsed over-the-counter access to birth control, and more than 100 other countries already allow it.

A big part of the reason the Pill requires a prescription in the U.S. is political. But party lines on the issue have at times been surprising. For much of birth control's history, progressives advocated more access while social conservatives remained skeptical or hostile to the idea. After the Affordable Care Act debates, however, Democrats grew worried that if it no longer fell under prescription-drug coverage from insurers, the Pill would be too expensive. "We saw suddenly conservatives taking the rallying cry of over-the-counter, because they saw it as a clear alternative to expanding coverage through Obamacare," says Rachel VanSickle-Ward, a professor of political studies at Pitzer College.

As Republicans fought to shake their "war on women" image after the 2012 election, people like then Louisiana governor Bobby

Jindal and Senator Cory Gardner further embraced the idea. And though little progress was made at the national level, states took up the mantle by allowing pharmacists to prescribe birth control, which kept the pills covered by insurance but allowed women to pick them up with a quick stop at the drug store.

Still, insurance gaps can cause issues at the pharmacy, and OTC advocates ultimately want women to have total control. Now, with Senator Patty Murray and Representative Ayanna Pressley, both Democrats, introducing a bill on June 13 aiming to expand access to affordable over-the-counter birth control, the legislation has renewed their party's stake in the fight. The bill, similar to one Murray introduced in 2015, would require insurance companies to cover oral birth control without a prescription and says retailers could not interfere with consumers' access to FDA-approved contraception. It was introduced one day after GOP Senator Ted Cruz tweeted that he would like to work with Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, a co-sponsor of the Democrats' bill, to make the Pill available over the counter.

With 2020 around the corner, and Republican state legislatures making headlines for restricting abortion access, Democrats in Congress could keep birth control at the front of the national conversation. "Bodily autonomy is a basic human right," Pressley said when announcing the bill. "At a time when reproductive rights are under attack, it is more critical than ever that we take bold steps to reaffirm reproductive rights for all Americans." —ABIGAIL ABRAMS

ACCIDENTS

Delicious disaster

On June 14, a traffic accident in Indiana scattered cocoa powder (and lithium batteries) across an interstate freeway. Here, other food spills that required a colossal cleanup. —Suyin Haynes

TAPIOCA TIME BOMB

When 1,500 tons of tapioca grains caught fire inside a Swiss freighter in 1972, the water used to put out the fire combined with the heat to cook the tapioca, resulting in a giant glutinous pudding.

CHEESY FLAMES

A truckload of goat cheese ignited as it was driven through a tunnel in Norway in 2013. Because of the high fat and sugar levels in the cheese, the blaze took five days to put out.



CHOCOLATE RIVER

Spillage from a chocolate factory **solidified on the streets** of a German town just before Christmas in 2018. Firefighters had to use shovels, hot water and blowtorches to clear 108 sq. ft. of the sweet stuff.

Milestones

DIED

Gloria Vanderbilt, heiress, fashion designer and socialite, on June 17 at 95.

➤ Historian **Alan Brinkley**, who wrote a biography of TIME co-founder Henry Luce, on June 16 at 70.

ANNOUNCED

That White House press secretary **Sarah Huckabee Sanders** will step down at the end of June, by President Trump on June 13.

SENTENCED

Israeli Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu's wife Sara**, to pay more than \$15,000 in fines for misusing state funds, by an Israeli court on June 16. She'd previously struck a plea deal in the corruption case.

NAMED

Rear Admiral **Shoshana Chatfield**, to be president of the U.S. Naval War College, by the Navy on June 14. She'll be the first woman to fill the role.

WON

The Stanley Cup, by the **St. Louis Blues**, for the first time in the hockey team's 51 seasons.

DECLARED

That he would **decline to speak at conferences that do not include enough women**, by Dr. Francis Collins, head of the National Institutes of Health, on June 12.

DETAINED

Former top European soccer chief **Michel Platini**, by French investigators looking into the decision to hold the 2022 World Cup in Qatar.



DIED

Mohamed Morsi

The Arab world's lost promise

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD WAS FOUNDED IN 1928 TO BRING Islam into modern politics. For decades the party existed largely underground, but it was ready and waiting when the uprisings known as the Arab Spring abruptly produced free elections. Mohamed Morsi was the Brotherhood's candidate for Egyptian President, and its archetype: middle class, professional (engineering degree from USC), with a neat beard and self-confidence verging on smugness. On June 17, 2012, Morsi—seen above in Cairo in that all-important year—became the first democratically elected President in Arab history.

Seven years to the day later, Morsi died in a Cairo courtroom, at age 67. He had been imprisoned after only 13 months in office, a victim of Brotherhood insularity, mounting public distrust and an Egyptian security apparatus accustomed to being in charge. The coup was announced by General Abdul Fattah al-Sisi, whose forces slaughtered at least 800 Morsi supporters in the street. Al-Sisi now heads a government that international human-rights groups, noting Morsi was deprived of crucial medical care in prison, call responsible for his death too.

—KARL VICK

DIED

Franco Zeffirelli

Lavish lens

IN THE 1950S AND '60S, Franco Zeffirelli made his name with magnificent stage productions of operas like *La Traviata*, *La Bohème* and *Aida*. But more people know Zeffirelli, who died on June 15 at age 96, as a film director, largely because of the tender and intuitive Shakespeare adaptation he made in 1968. For many teenage school kids of the era, *Romeo and Juliet*, starring real-life teenagers Leonard Whiting and Olivia Hussey, served as an introduction to Shakespearean performance—and the film's brief but tasteful nudity kept everyone awake.

Zeffirelli brought visual and emotional opulence to his opera and film productions alike. But he faced controversy too, including an allegation of sexual assault, which his family has refuted. Also, a conservative Catholic, he publicly supported the church's anti-homosexuality stance; he himself came out as gay in 1996, though he preferred not to speak about his personal life.

In art, Zeffirelli had a taste for excess. In life, he was no less complicated.

—STEPHANIE ZACHAREK



Romantic comedy's old master **Richard Curtis** is still trying to persuade us that all we need is love

By **Belinda Luscombe**

RICHARD CURTIS, THE TYPHOID MARY OF INCURABLE romantics, is not surprised that even though it is 9 a.m. on a weekday, Strawberry Fields, the memorial to John Lennon in New York City's Central Park, is crowded. And he's not bothered that the obligatory rumpled guitar-playing guy is doggedly torturing the Beatles' oeuvre for tips. It would be hypocritical of the writer of the romantic-comedy classics *Four Weddings and a Funeral*, *Notting Hill* and *Bridget Jones's Diary* to deny tourists—or guitarists—whatever emotional fantasy sustains them.

Curtis has never been to Strawberry Fields before, even though he's a Beatles superfan. In 1963, when "I Want to Hold Your Hand" came out, he was a 7-year-old New Zealand-born Brit living in Sweden. His parents had the same records every grownup in those days had—one copy of *My Fair Lady* and two of *The Sound of Music*. But he had older sisters. And he had teenage babysitters. So when the Fab Four exploded, he was on the front line and his hungry ears took the full force of the blow. The day *The White Album* was released, he got up three hours early to sit on the radiator to simulate a fever so he could stay in bed and listen to its songs on the radio. He has even met two real Beatles: George and Paul.

Having stepped away from full-blown feature movies for a few years—he endured some box-office underperformers (*Pirate Radio*) and criticism for an out-of-date portrayal of Britain—Curtis, 62, is back with a movie that doubles down on the nostalgia. *Yesterday*, out June 28, is an uncomplicated work of wish fulfillment about Jack (Himesh Patel), a down-on-his-luck singer, and his best friend and manager, Ellie (Lily James), who he can't tell is in love with him. It's all amusingly shambolic until, after a momentary global blackout, everybody except Jack forgets every Beatles song. He gets to introduce some of the world's most pure and polished pop confections as if he had written them.

"I've always felt that what I was trying to do as a writer was to feel like the Beatles in trying to bring people joy," Curtis says. "Even when you're dealing with serious things, try and do it in a way which had a joyful context. I wanted to write films that had the same effect on people as listening to a moderately good Beatles song."

Even a moderately good Beatles song is an immodest target, but Curtis has shot close. The slew

CURTIS AND THE MOP TOPS

On meeting George Harrison

"At a party, he said, 'I'm a great fan of your work,' and I said, 'That's the single most absurd thing that any human has ever said to me.'"

Paul McCartney wants to marry him

"He's willing to do the ceremony [between Curtis and girlfriend Emma Freud]. So, um, that is a temptation."

Ringo Starr approves this message

"I haven't met Ringo. But we had a lovely letter from him about this film. That was very sweet."

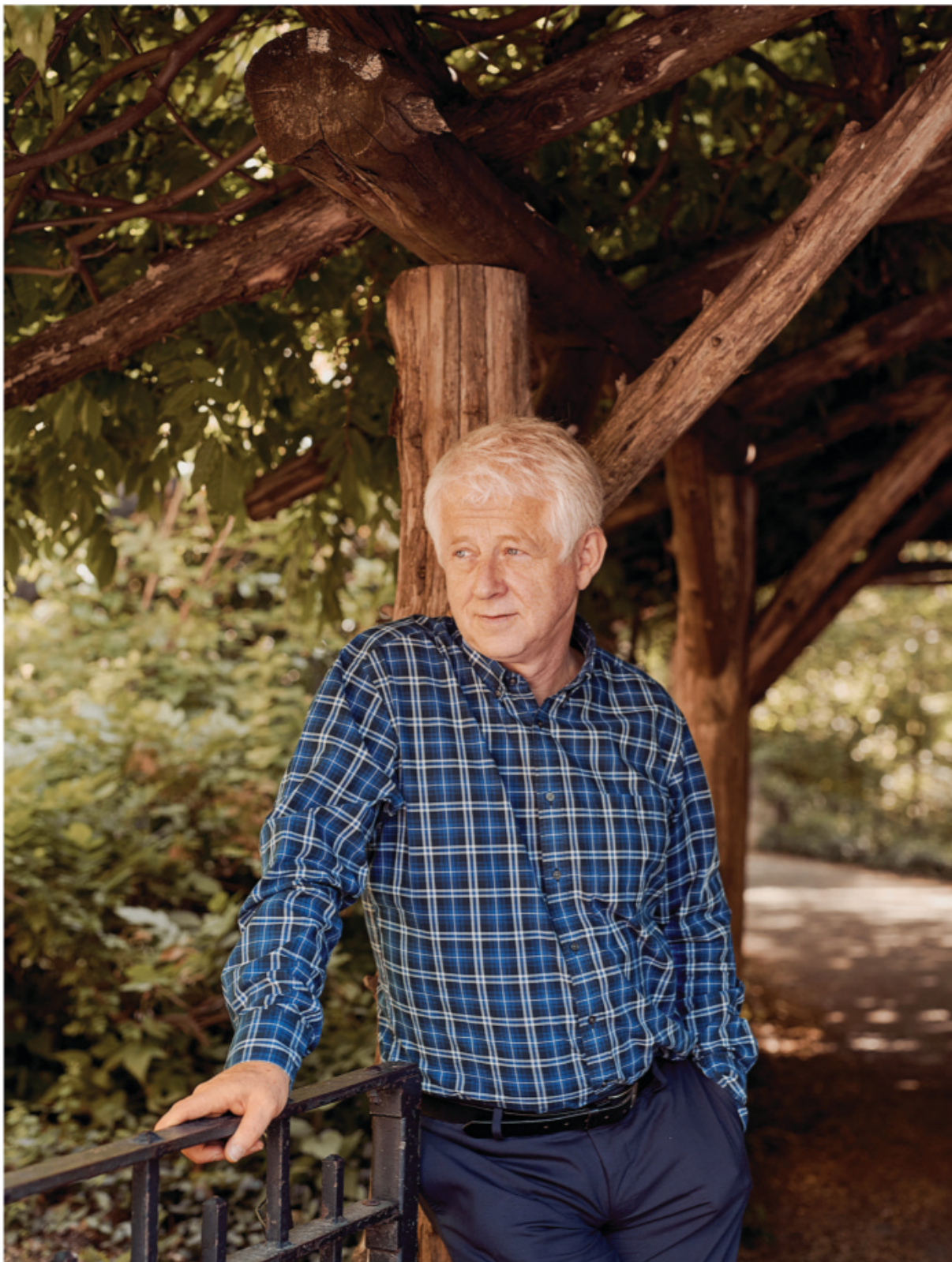
of hit films he wrote in the '90s and early 2000s, some of which he also directed, have that Lennon-McCartney-ish effortlessness that only comes from a miniaturist's attention to detail and a perfect pitch for the notes people want their love stories to hit.

Yesterday also has a charming premise, and Curtis is up front about the fact that the idea wasn't his. One of his former collaborators called him and asked if he wanted to read a screenplay along those lines, and Curtis told him, no, he'd rather write it. (The idea's originator, Jack Barth, gets a story credit.)

But as with a Beatles song, what appears on the surface to be a glib rendition of some well-worn themes actually touches on quite profound insights. How much of the creative process is simply a remixing of past influences and current collaborators? Should one person get the credit for any work of art? Are all artists to some extent impostors?

CURTIS, FOR ONE, says he's haunted "every day" by impostor syndrome, the belief that you are going to be uncovered as a fraud despite your apparent success. He feels it less when making a film—although he tussled a little in the editing room with *Yesterday*'s director, Danny Boyle, over what would make people laugh—and more when wearing his other hat, or maybe Red Nose, as a philanthropist. "I was speaking at Google's Zeitgeist about the Sustainable Development Goals yesterday," he says. "And I was thinking, Wait a minute..." Not many people go from movie publicity interviews to meetings about how to achieve the U.N.'s antipoverty targets; Curtis is possibly the only human who can discuss the meet-cute as knowledgeably as he can malaria.

Comic Relief, the philanthropic organization he co-founded in 1985, has raised more than a billion dollars, largely by getting famous people to do silly things regularly and regular people to wear clown noses one day a year. Its techniques have come in for some celebrity-white-savior-complex-style criticism recently, but Curtis remains upbeat. "I'm a great believer that if you open the door, if you create another opportunity for people to be kind and generous, astonishing things happen," he says.



He wants to extend his fundraising beyond the U.K. and the U.S. and is knee-deep in schemes to create some noise around the year 2020, because it will be a third of the way into the U.N.'s 15-year plan to bring more peace and prosperity to the planet by 2030. "We're going to do a big concert," he says. "We're going to do a big sort of moving work of art across Europe." People who think it's optimistic to believe folks will care about impoverished countries in these turbulent times should recall that Curtis got audiences to believe Julia Roberts would marry the owner of a travel bookstore.

INTERESTINGLY, THE INSTIGATOR of so many iconic movie weddings is not technically married, although he and his girlfriend of 28 years, Emma

'I wanted to write films that had the same effect on people as listening to a moderately good Beatles song.'

RICHARD CURTIS, screenwriter

Freud, have four children together. She's also his story editor. He gave her the screenplay for *Yesterday* just before Christmas 2017. She told him it was perfect, right up until Jan. 3, 2018, when she said it needed to be rewritten. Apparently, one benefit of having a partner who is Sigmund Freud's great-granddaughter is that you get to have an anxiety-free New Year's Eve.

Curtis' other main collaborator, Hugh Grant—whose portrayals of whip-smart but slightly useless dreamers who seemed a lot like Curtis were a mainstay of some golden years in romantic comedy—has finally moved on. (He will still show up, however, for Comic Relief initiatives, notes Curtis. "There's quite a lot of swearing in his texts. But it always ends with 'yes.'")

It sometimes seems Grant took the rom out of the com when he left, but Curtis is adamant that there will be great funny movies about love as long as funny people keep failing at love. "The only way you can write a good romantic comedy is being somebody who's obsessed by love, which I have been," he says, pointing to the TV show *Fleabag* as a carrier of the torch. "I don't think we should worry that love is going to go out of fashion." Almost as if on cue, a *Four Weddings and a Funeral* miniseries arrives on Hulu in July, executive-produced by Curtis and re-envisioned by Mindy Kaling.

As Curtis has aged, the role of the guy who's quite a lot like Curtis has changed too. He's no longer the leading man but the mentor. In *Yesterday*, that is British singer-songwriter Ed Sheeran, who, playing himself, discovers and promotes Jack. In one scene, he and Jack have a public showdown to see who can write the best song in 10 minutes. Sheeran's is perfectly fine, but Jack sings "The Long and Winding Road," and the star admits defeat.

It's one of Curtis' favorite moments. "We've got to realize—or maybe the Beatles don't do this—there will always be someone better and someone worse than you," he says. "You're somewhere in a queue." His place in the queue may have shifted and his point of view become less popular, but Curtis is ever the optimist, still hoping to give everyone that fairy-tale ending. □

LightBox

Surreal service

With arms raised and a hard hat on his head, Paris Archbishop Michel Aupetit leads the first Mass held inside Notre Dame since a fire in April destroyed parts of the roof and felled its majestic spire. The June 15 service commemorated the dedication of the French cathedral's altar. "We stepped into another world," said photographer Guillaume Poli, who was among a small group of people allowed to witness the Mass, of the fire-damaged interior. "It was a familiar and unknown place altogether."

Photograph by Guillaume Poli—
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Pictured: Heroes from Marvel Studios' *Avengers: Endgame*.
Survivor photos by Kevin Lynch.



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TheView

WORLD

THE IRAN DEBACLE

By Karl Vick

Now that both Iran and the United States have announced what they do not want—war—the search is on for what they do. That’s always been easier to answer from Tehran’s side. The Islamic Republic of Iran was founded in frank and vociferous opposition to the U.S. It’s a binary republic. For: Islam, as defined by its patently political mullahs. ▶

INSIDE

HOW TIME'S COVERAGE OF GAY
RIGHTS AFFECTED A GENERATION

THE STRUGGLE TO SAVE SUDAN'S
DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

THE NEXT STAGE IN
PROTECTING ABORTION RIGHTS

TheView Opener

Against: Washington, which deposed Iran's last freely elected leader, then kept on meddling. Iran is also against Israel, the only non-Muslim nation in the region, but it's more gratifying to face off against the U.S., often referred to in official statements as "global arrogance" (and sometimes just "arrogance").

The U.S. has been delighted to respond in kind. Its enmity toward Iran has survived the Cold War's end, the rise of China and 9/11, albeit narrowly. Washington and Tehran actually worked together to fight the Taliban in Afghanistan. But then George W. Bush included Iran in his "axis of evil" and quixotically invaded Iraq—empowering Iran by toppling its longtime nemesis and leaving it the dominant player in Baghdad.

Today Iran stands at the epicenter of the Middle East, despite a deeply dysfunctional economy and restive population. The Iranian people's failed uprising in 2009, over a stolen election, effectively inoculated Iran's leadership from the Arab Spring revolutions that instead created opportunities for the country around the region. In Syria, with the help of Russia, the

Islamic Republic prevailed against proxies of the petro-monarchies who refer to the Persian Gulf as the Arabian Gulf. From Yemen, its Houthi allies lob missiles into one of them, Saudi Arabia, mortifying the crown prince, who told TIME last year that "whatever happens, the Saudi people shouldn't feel it." And now Donald Trump has come courting.

WHAT WE ARE HEARING are not the drums of war but more of a fanfare. "I'd much rather talk," Trump has replied, when asked if war with Tehran is on the horizon. The President sees himself as a master negotiator. He ran against the "bad deal" that Barack Obama had cut—the pact by which Iran discarded almost all of its nuclear program, in exchange for relief from one of the most effective sanctions programs the world had ever come together to enforce. Galvanizing that effort was Iran's progress toward enough fissile material to make an atomic bomb, and Israel's credible

threats to launch airstrikes against Iran's facilities before it got one. It was a group effort.

The dynamic this time is different. Trump alone has imposed sanctions in hopes of coercing the Iranians into new talks. But there are problems. One is that the old pact still exists. China, Russia and the E.U. also signed it and, because it's working, want to keep it. Problem two is that there's no longer any imminent threat of military action against Iran—not even when Iran looks like it's trying to provoke one. Since May 12, a half-dozen oil tankers have been punctured by explosions, and on June 13 an Iranian military vessel was photographed retrieving a mine that had failed to detonate. One of the burning vessels was Japanese. As it happened, that same day Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe was in Tehran delivering a message to Iran's Supreme Leader, Ayatullah Ali Khamenei, from Trump.



A Norwegian oil tanker on fire in the Persian Gulf on June 13 after an explosion near the waterline

"I do not see Trump as worthy of any message exchange," Khamenei replied. "And I do not have any reply for him, now or in the future."

Instead, four days later, Iran spoke to the rest of the world, declaring it would violate the nuclear pact. The announcement—giving 10 days' notice before Iran exceeded limits on enriching uranium—was clearly intended to stir European nations to defy the U.S. sanctions and find a way to keep trading through barter. If that happened, Iran signaled, it would continue to stick to the pact.

Which, after all, has been working precisely as planned. Trump says the plan is the problem—that the pact lets Iran resume its nuclear program in part in 2026 and entirely in 2031. That is indeed a dilemma, though one reasonably faced in, say, 2025. Meanwhile, Tehran clearly has its eye on 2020, which may produce a U.S. President who does not create unnecessary crises, or raise the question now at hand:

Is Trump driven by the desire to make the world safer? Or by an appetite for vainglory—"I alone can fix it"—that, for example, hasn't made Kim Jong Un's North Korea any less of a threat? □

SHORT READS

► Highlights from stories on time.com/ideas

The making of a feminist father

Ziauddin Yousafzai, author of *Let Her Fly: A Father's Journey*, knew even before his daughter Malala was born that he and his wife wanted to raise her the same way they would raise a son.

"I am sure of one thing: Patriarchy is sheer stupidity," he says.

Casting a critical eye

"TIME magazine helped me come out to my mother. Inadvertently," writes Eric Marcus, author of *Making Gay History: The Half-Century Fight for Lesbian and Gay Equal Rights*. Weaving in his personal experience, Marcus explains how this magazine's reporting on gay life in America shaped—and skewed—a generation's attitudes.

Sounding the alarm

In an op-ed urging gun-safety reform, Democratic Senators Dianne Feinstein and Chris Murphy call out their Republican colleagues for inaction. **"We have to break this cycle of gun deaths,"** they write. "We owe it to our voters and our children. We can't allow our inaction to re-traumatize gun violence survivors."

THE RISK REPORT

The fight to save Sudan from the counterrevolution

By Ian Bremmer



REVOLUTIONS ARE hard to launch and harder to sustain. That's the legacy of the Muslim Brotherhood's Mohamed Morsi,

the man elected Egypt's President following the Arab Spring demonstrations that ousted strongman Hosni Mubarak. After a year in power, Morsi's government was overthrown by a military coup, and now Egypt is led by a military-backed strongman, Abdul Fattah al-Sisi. Morsi collapsed and died on June 17 inside a cage in a Cairo courtroom, where he was facing espionage charges.

That's a useful backdrop to help us recognize what's now happening across Egypt's southern border in Sudan. After three months of nationwide demonstrations, protesters began congregating in central Khartoum on April 6, demanding the removal of longtime strongman Omar Hassan al-Bashir. On April 11, the uprising ended al-Bashir's 30-year rule. He now faces criminal charges, just as Egypt's Mubarak did.

But thousands of protesters in Sudan, aware that the country's army would likely try to replace one military-backed tyrant with another, refused to leave the streets of Khartoum. Organizers of a large protest outside military headquarters demanded that al-Bashir be put in prison. The army complied.

The demonstrators then called for early elections and a civilian-led government. The generals countered by offering a "managed transition" led by a military council, which would produce elections and a civilian government within two years. Not good enough, said the protesters. The crowd grew, and tensions surged.

On June 3, men in military fatigues opened fire on the crowd. At least dozens were massacred, and hundreds more

were wounded. Witnesses reported that soldiers dumped bodies into the Nile to hide the death toll. The counter-revolution had begun.

LIKE EGYPT'S AL-SISI, a military man has stepped forward to restore order in Sudan. Mohamed Hamdan Dagalo, known as Hemeti, now serves as vice president of Sudan's ruling military junta. On June 5, he spoke out against the violent crackdown on protesters and pledged to bring the perpetrators to justice. "We are working hard to take those who did this to the gallows," he said.

The trouble, say the protesters, is that the murders were committed by the so-called Rapid Support Forces, a paramilitary force, previously known as the *janjaweed*. This group is also widely blamed for murder, rape, theft and arson committed against civilians in the Darfur region of Sudan. The *janjaweed* commander is Hemeti himself. Human

Rights Watch, a nongovernmental watchdog group, holds Hemeti responsible for overseeing "torture, extrajudicial killings and mass rapes" in Darfur.

Counterrevolutions often earn backing from interested neighbors, and Hemeti appears to have powerful friends. He reportedly visited Saudi Arabia in May and promised Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman that Sudan's military would support Saudi goals in the region, including sending Sudanese soldiers to support the Saudi war in Yemen.

Aware that Hemeti is unlikely to bring himself and his followers to justice, the protesters have now called for night marches in Khartoum and other cities in hopes of forcing the military to make concessions. The protesters say they won't surrender their fight. But as in Egypt, it's the men with guns who are likely to carry the day. □

Witnesses reported that soldiers dumped bodies into the Nile to hide the death toll

QUICK TALK

Stephanie Toti

In June 2016, the Supreme Court handed abortion-rights advocates a major victory in Whole Woman's Health v. Hellerstedt. Even in the face of restrictive new state laws, Toti, who argued the case, hasn't lost hope.

Whole Woman's Health was about regulations in Texas. What's the status of access in the state now?

The situation has been mixed. A number of clinics were forced to close while that litigation was ongoing... A lot of them were never able to reopen.

How have legal attacks on access changed over time?

We have big advancements in the law followed by big setbacks. I've come to think of the struggle for abortion rights not as a particular fight that's going to have a conclusion but as a garden that needs to be cultivated constantly.

Does the current makeup of the court mean access is more vulnerable?

People definitely have cause for concern, but I think that it's important to keep in mind that there's overwhelming support in the public for abortion access and that the court is in a dialogue with the public as well as with the other branches of government. The court doesn't exist in a vacuum.

—Tara Law





Tell kids the truth: hard work doesn't always pay off

By Rachel Simmons

A STAR ATHLETE AT THE COLLEGE WHERE I work recently stopped by my office. After committing a few unforced errors during a weekend match, she was riven by self-criticism. “I can’t stop beating myself up,” she told me. “I’m at peak fitness, and I practice hard. How is this happening?”

This student, like many I teach, believes she should be able to control the outcomes of her life by virtue of her hard work. It’s a mentality verging on invincibility: a sense that all-nighters in the library and hours on the field should get her exactly where she needs to go.

I study and write about resilience, and I’m noticing a troubling spike in students like this athlete. Their faith in their own sweat equity confers a kind of contingent confidence: When they win, they feel powerful and smart. When they fall short of what they imagine they should accomplish, however, they are crushed by self-blame.

We talk often about young adults struggling with failure because their parents have protected them from discomfort. But there is something else at play among the most privileged in particular: a false promise that they can achieve anything if they are willing to work for it.

Psychologists have sourced this phenomenon to a misapplication of “mind-set” research, which has found that praising children for effort will increase academic performance. Developed by Stanford psychologist Carol Dweck, mind-set education

**Fantasizing
that they
can control
everything
is not really
resilience**

has infiltrated classrooms around the world. But a 2018 analysis found that while praising effort (“You worked hard!”) over ability (“You’re really smart!”) may benefit high-risk or economically disadvantaged students, it does not necessarily help everyone.

One possible explanation comes from Suniya Luthar and Nina Kumar, who argued in a research paper last year that for teens in wealthy, pressure-cooker communities, “it is not a lack of motivation and perseverance that is the big problem. Instead, it is unhealthy perfectionism, and difficulty with backing off when they should, when the high-octane drive for achievements is over the top.” This can lead to physical and emotional stress. In a 2007 study, psychologists Gregory Miller and Carsten Wrosch determined that adolescent girls who refused to give up impossible goals showed elevated levels of CRP, a protein that serves as a marker of systemic inflammation linked to diabetes, heart disease and other medical conditions. A 2014 study by Luthar and Emily Lyman showed a correlation between the perfectionist tendencies of affluent youth and their vulnerability to substance abuse and feelings of inferiority.

THE HUMBLING, BRUTAL, MESSY REALITY is that you can do everything in your power and still fail. This knowledge comes early to underrepresented minorities whose experience of discrimination and inequality teaches them to brace for what is, for now, largely beyond their control to change. Yet for others, the belief that success is always within their grasp is a setup. University of Chicago professor Lauren Berlant calls this “cruel optimism,” when the pursuit of a goal harms you because it is largely unachievable. The college-admission game promises a meritocracy that rewards hard work with entrance to the ivory tower, yet admissions scandals and ultra-thin acceptance rates make such a promise impossible to keep.

Instead of allowing our kids to beat themselves up when things don’t go their way, we should all question a culture that has taught them that feeling anything less than overwhelmed means they’re lazy, that how they perform for others is more important than what actually inspires them, and that where they go to college matters more than the kind of person they are.

The point is not to give our kids a pass on working hard. But fantasizing that they can control everything is not really resilience. We would be wise to remind our kids that life has a way of sucker-punching us when we least expect it. It’s often the people who learn to say “stuff happens” who get up the fastest.

*Simmons is the author of **Enough as She Is: How to Help Girls Move Beyond Impossible Standards of Success to Live Healthy, Happy and Fulfilling Lives***

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What the world owes refugees

By Angelina Jolie

WHO COMES TO MIND WHEN YOU PICTURE A REFUGEE? YOU probably don't imagine a European. But if you were a child of World War II and asked your parents what a refugee was, they would probably have described someone from Europe.

More than 40 million Europeans were displaced by the war. The U.N. Refugee Agency was created for them. We forget this. Some of the leaders uttering the harshest rhetoric against refugees today trace their routes back to countries that went through tragic refugee experiences and were helped by the international community.

At the first sign of armed conflict or persecution, the natural human response is to try to take your children out of harm's way. Threatened by bombs, mass rape or murder squads, people gather the little they can carry and seek safety. Refugees are people who've chosen to leave a conflict. They pull themselves and their families through war, and often help rebuild their countries. These are qualities to be admired.

Why then has the word *refugee* acquired such negative connotations in our times? Why are politicians being elected on promises to shut borders and turn back refugees?

Today the distinction between refugees and migrants has been blurred and politicized. Refugees have been forced to flee their country because of persecution, war or violence. Migrants have chosen to move, mainly to improve their lives. Some leaders deliberately use the terms *refugee* and *migrant* interchangeably, using hostile rhetoric that whips up fear against all outsiders.

Everyone deserves dignity and fair treatment, but we need to be clear about the distinction. Under international law it is not an option to assist refugees, it is an obligation. It is perfectly possible to ensure strong border control and fair, humane immigration policies while meeting our responsibility to help refugees. More than half of all refugees worldwide are children, and 4 of 5 of them live in a country that borders the conflict or crisis they have fled. Fewer than 1% of refugees are ever permanently resettled, including in Western nations.

AMERICAN GENEROSITY MEANS that our country is the world's largest donor of aid. But consider Lebanon, where every sixth person is a refugee. Or Uganda, where a third of the population lives in extreme poverty, sharing its scarce resources with over a million refugees. Across the world, many countries that have the least are doing the most.

When I started working with the U.N. Refugee Agency, or U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 18 years ago, there were about 40 million forcibly displaced people and hope that the number might be falling. According to the UNHCR's latest global-trends report, the number of forcibly displaced people today stands at over 70 million and is rapidly rising. From Myanmar to South Sudan, we are failing to help resolve conflicts in a way that enables people to return home. And we expect the U.N. to somehow deal

with the resulting human chaos.

At the first session of the U.N. General Assembly, in 1946, President Truman laid upon member states the prime responsibility for creating peace and security. He said the U.N. "cannot ... fulfill adequately its own responsibilities until ... peace settlements have been made and unless these settlements form a solid foundation upon which to build a permanent peace."

But the sad truth is, member states apply the tools and standards of the U.N. selectively. States often put business and trade interests ahead of the lives of innocent people affected by conflict. We grow tired or disillusioned and turn our diplomatic effort away from countries before they've stabilized. We seek peace agreements, as in Afghanistan, that don't have human rights at their core. We barely acknowledge the impact of climate change as a major factor in conflict and displacement.

We use aid as a substitute for diplomacy. But you cannot solve a war with humanitarian assistance. Particularly when few humanitarian appeals anywhere in the world are even 50% funded. The U.N. has received only 21% of the 2019 funds needed for Syria relief efforts. In Libya the figure is 15%.

The rate of displacement last year was equivalent to 37,000 people being forced from their homes every single day. Imagine trying to organize a response to that level of desperation without the funds necessary to help even half of those people.

As we mark World Refugee Day on June 20, it is an illusion to think that any country can retreat behind its borders and simply hope the problem will go away. We need leadership and effective diplomacy. We need to focus on long-term peace based on justice, rights and accountability to enable refugees to return home.

This is not a soft approach. It is the harder course of action, but it is the only one that will make a difference. The distance between us and the refugees of the past is shorter than we think.

Jolie, a TIME contributing editor, is an Academy Award-winning actor and special envoy of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees

13.6M

Estimated number of people displaced by violence or persecution in 2018

111K

Number of unaccompanied child refugees reported in 2018



16%

Percentage of refugees hosted by countries in the developed world

POLITICS

What Democrats should do in the first debate

By Jennifer Palmieri

OVER THE PAST 15 YEARS, I HAVE HELPED A NUMBER OF presidential candidates prepare for debates, and I am certain the 2020 contenders are feeling the pressure to have a breakout moment in their upcoming first round. But anyone looking to these events for clarity on the direction this race will take is likely to be disappointed. I know we're all tired of hearing that it's early, but the reality is we are just six months into an 18-month process leading to the Democratic nomination. Moreover, given the number of candidates onstage each night, it's unlikely that anyone will speak more than 10 minutes. Unless someone sets himself or herself on fire, it's hard to see how any of them turns this into a game changer.

Nevertheless, the start of debate season signals a new phase of the campaign. Candidates like Joe Biden and Bernie Sanders have benefited from the relative anarchy of a large field—it's been hard for the others to break through the cacophony and relatively easy for the front runners to skirt questions they'd rather avoid. But on the debate stage, the front runners will have to answer the moderators as well as face the specter of attacks from other candidates.

Not that I recommend going after the other candidates in this first outing, particularly Biden. He's the front runner for a reason—people like him. If attacks on him or his record aren't delivered deftly, they will elevate him and make the attacker look desperate. Attacking front runners—particularly in early debates—is tricky to pull off, as 2016 Democratic contender Lincoln Chafee learned when he questioned Hillary Clinton's judgment in the first primary debate in 2015. A blasé Clinton offered a simple “no,” to cheers from the audience, when moderator Anderson Cooper asked if she cared to respond. I'm not sure Chafee had a chance to be a serious contender, but he never recovered from that misfire.

Rather than myopically focusing on the first debate, campaigns should devise a plan for how to use each of the first three, and the time in between, to advance their message going into the fall. It's not just that the candidates are onstage together for two nights in June. It's the promise that they will be there again in July, and in September, and so on.

I'M NOT ADVISING a candidate this cycle, but if I were, I'd suggest a strategy like this: Start by using journalists' interest in the lead-up to the debate to reset your message and rationale with the press. Second, lay down your best arguments in the debate, and plant some seeds for issues you want to come back to on the trail and in future debates. Third, pick a couple of moments coming out of the debate to capitalize on—great

ones by you or openings from an opponent's gaffe—to drive your message in the next few weeks. Fourth, come back in July and do it again.

In the 2016 Clinton campaign, we tried to do this by crafting debate strategies that set up a discussion we wanted to have on the trail. This worked well in the third primary debate as a means of forcing a conversation about gun control, as we aimed to make that issue a point of differentiation with Sanders and continue to talk about it for the next two months. A less successful example was in the first general-election debate, when Clinton raised Donald Trump's humiliating treatment of former Miss Universe Alicia Machado to highlight his disrespect for women. It led Trump to go on a multiday spree attacking Machado. The spree was not good for Trump but also drowned out any positive message we tried to drive out of that debate, although of course Trump often defied the traditional playbook.

Candidates in the 2020 field have the opportunity to use the first debate this way. Known for having a plan to solve all problems, Elizabeth Warren should argue that she has the *right* plan. Her proposal for providing free tuition at all public universities and colleges is controversial, but by using her time to talk it up, she'd be inviting a fight she wants to have. Kirsten Gillibrand has made her support for women a centerpiece of her campaign. She should focus on the new abortion restrictions in Georgia and other states and point to them as a reason to elect a woman. It's an edgy tactic, but again, it leans into a fight she would welcome and is true to what she believes.

This comprehensive approach may take more planning than coming up with a killer line that will lead the news the next morning. But a strategy that treats the debates as an organizing principle for your campaign is likely to be more successful than gunning for a June breakout moment in Florida when what you need to be building toward is a February breakout in Iowa.

Among the crowded Democratic field are, clockwise from left, Elizabeth Warren, Joe Biden, Kamala Harris, Pete Buttigieg and Bernie Sanders



Palmieri is the former director of communications for Hillary Clinton's 2016 presidential campaign



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A photograph of a room, likely the Oval Office, featuring a red leather chair in the foreground. In the background, there is a portrait of George Washington in a gold frame, a flag with 'STATE 1776' and '1945', and a red flag with 'INE CORPS'. A person's leg in a blue suit is visible on the right.

20★20

Doubling Down

President Trump's re-election machine is designed to harness his instincts and voter outrage

BY BRIAN BENNETT



*Trump in the Oval
Office on June 17*

‘My whole life is a bet,’

the President of the United States says, resting his forearms on the edge of the Resolute desk in the Oval Office.

It’s a steamy evening in mid-June, and Trump is facing a set of high-stakes tests around the world. Tensions rising with Iran. Tariffs imposed by India. Protesters flooding the streets of Hong Kong. But Trump is confident, ready to joust. He has invited a group of TIME journalists for an interview, blown past the allotted time and settled in for a wide-ranging discussion. Along the way, he orders a Diet Coke with ice with the push of a small red button set into a wooden box on the desk, and directs an aide to fetch a copy of a hand-delivered birthday letter sent from Kim Jong Un.

Politics is rarely out of mind for any man who wills his way into this rarefied sanctum. Especially not one who calls his campaign manager on many days by 7 a.m., and certainly not now, the day before Trump formally kicks off his 2020 re-election bid. So it doesn’t take much prodding for the President, a former casino magnate, to start making book on the sprawling field of Democratic challengers.

A “progressive” will probably win the primary, Trump predicts, running down the competition with evident relish. Joe Biden “is not the same Biden,” he says, adding later, “Where’s the magic?” Kamala Harris, he notes, “has not surged.” Bernie Sanders is “going in the wrong direction.” Elizabeth

Warren’s “doing pretty well,” he allows, but Pete Buttigieg “never” had a chance.

Why? “I just don’t feel it,” Trump says. “Politics is all instinct.”

Once again, Trump is putting his own instincts at the center of his campaign. The political mercenaries who tried to discipline his impulses in 2016 have been shown the door. The 2020 campaign is unmistakably Trump’s show. “We all have our meetings,” the President says. “But I generally do my own thing.” Campaign staff have been hired to follow Trump’s lead, and the President has made it known that when he tweets a new policy or improvises an attack at a rally, everyone had better be ready to follow along. “He blows the hole and everyone runs into the breach,” says an aide.

Gone is the rickety operation that eked out an upset victory over Hillary Clinton. In its place, advisers boast, is a state-of-the-art campaign befitting an incumbent President. Trump’s campaign is gearing up to spend \$1 billion, and may well get there. His team has spent more money, earlier in the campaign, than any re-election bid in recent history. Campaign staff sit in slick offices in a glass-skinned tower overlooking the Potomac River in Arlington, Va. And Trump has won total control of the Republican National Committee, which fought against him for much of 2016.

Despite the trappings of convention, however, Trump has for the most part thrown out the playbook for incumbency. The last three two-term Presidents were lifted in important ways by a bipartisan message. Bill Clinton ran on the 1994 crime bill and tax reform. George W. Bush ran on keeping America safe in the wake of 9/11. Barack Obama reminded voters that Osama bin Laden was dead and General Motors was alive.

Trump, who lost the popular vote in 2016 and is the only President in the history of Gallup polling never to crack 50% approval, says he’s ready to defy that legacy. “I think my base is so strong, I’m not sure that I have to do that,” he tells TIME, after being asked whether he should reach out to swing voters. The mantra of Trump 2020 is “turnout, turnout, turnout,” as campaign manager Brad Parscale puts it. “People all think you have to change people’s minds. You have to get people to show up that believe in you.”

Insiders know it’s a tough path. In 2016, Trump flipped three Democratic bastions—Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin—by a combined 79,646 votes, capitalizing on Hillary Clinton’s liabilities and energizing disaffected voters. Trump drew an “inside straight,” says his 2016 campaign



Trump officially kicks off his re-election campaign on June 18 at a rally in Orlando’s Amway Center



chief executive Steve Bannon. He can't count on that luck in 2020. "You have to get every f-cking deplorable," Bannon says, using his own Clinton-inspired term for Trump's ardent supporters. "Everybody's got to show up."

The key is making Trump's instinct for America's sore spots the engine of a political machine designed to inflame supporters. At its core, his campaign is a kind of a perpetual outrage machine. It uses algorithms—automated settings on Internet platforms like Google and Facebook—to place massive digital ad buys anytime Trump creates a firestorm. The cycle is simple: Trump says something controversial or offensive; that drives a surge of search interest in the topic; and that gives his campaign an opening to serve up online ads. The ads encourage supporters to text the campaign, take single-question campaign-generated polls, and buy Trump hats, yard signs, beer coolers and WITCH HUNT decals from the campaign online store, all of which rakes in voter contact data.

Never before has an incumbent President run a campaign this way. "It is a strategy built for the new partisan era," says Princeton University presidential historian Julian Zelizer. "Candidates are always doing things to turn out their supporters. What has not been tested, at least in modern times, is a strategy in which all the rhetoric and all the policy is just tailored around the turnout crowd and there is no effort to go beyond it."

Which brings us to the wager on which the gambler has staked a second term. Trump has already smashed the norms of American politics, remade the Republican Party into his cheering gallery and taken the national news cycle hostage. Can he win a second term on the basis that's he's governed in the first, by playing to his base?

NOWHERE HAS THE MACHINE adapted to the President as it has in the Oval Office. Over the course of TIME's 57-minute interview, the case for Trump's re-election unspools through a series of set-piece requests made to his assistants. Pressed over his commitment to get the U.S. out of foreign wars, he has a ready reply. "We defeated ISIS," he says. "Maybe you could ask somebody to bring me those maps," he adds, speaking to one of his staff. Soon enough, an aide brings in three printed sheets showing the Islamic State-held territory in Syria shrinking to zero.

When asked whether the latest attacks against oil tankers near the Strait of Hormuz, which U.S. officials blame on Iran, threaten to draw America toward a new, dangerous intervention in the Middle East, he requests favorable data once more. "Do me a favor, will you get the information I had yesterday?" he says to an aide in the next room. "The companies, the countries that benefit from the strait? I want



Supporters gather in Orlando for Trump's campaign kickoff

to show you something. China gets 60% of their oil there. Japan gets 25% of their oil. We get very little."

Of course, ISIS continues to launch attacks. "We've taken back the caliphate," Trump says. "That doesn't mean one of the crazies doesn't walk into a store all bombed up." And it's not impossible to imagine the world economy or the Middle East descending into chaos if Trump fulfills his wish "to get out" of the region. Even as he downplays Iran's alleged attack as "very minor," his outgoing Acting Secretary of Defense announced a deployment of 1,000 more U.S. troops to the Gulf to bolster U.S. installations against what the Pentagon calls an escalation of threats from Iran.

The core of Trump's pitch—to voters as well as visiting journalists—is that there's been great progress



around the world on his watch. The collapse of Chinese trade talks—and a mounting tariff fight that the Oxford Economics research firm says will shave 0.3% off GDP in 2020 and potentially cost the economy \$62 billion in lost output over the next year—is not a failure, it’s a success, he claims. “I give them a lot of credit, but we’ve helped create China. You look at what’s happened over the last period of time, and China wants to make a deal,” he says. “I’m very happy now collecting 25% on \$250 billion, which is what we’re doing.” Few trade experts see Trump gaining the upper hand in his tariff battle, but in his telling, multiple countries are looking to make deals with the U.S., thanks to his unconventional approach. He lists some, only off the record, again calling for a document that provides rather weak support.

DAVID WILLIAMS—REDUX FOR TIME

Eventually, Trump just cuts to the chase. “Look, I think I’ve done so much—could you bring me the list of things, please, give me four of them,” he shouts through the door. “I’ve done more in 2½ years than any President in the history of this country.” Three printed pages with 72 bullet points emerge: Economic growth is up, and unemployment has stayed at or below 4% for 15 months. He signed tax cuts into law, opened up Alaska’s Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil drilling, recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, canceled the Clean Power Plan, withdrew from the Iran deal and the Paris Agreement, issued an order to make a space force the sixth branch of the military. He’s aggrieved by the perception that he doesn’t get credit for what he’s done.

The Oval Office isn’t the natural venue for Trump’s brand of politics. Campaigning is where he really feels at home. So Trump has merged the two to an unprecedented degree—filing for re-election on the first day of his presidency, naming a 2020 campaign manager just a year into his first term and banking at least \$100 million for the effort so far. In June, an independent government agency found that senior White House adviser Kellyanne Conway had violated a law prohibiting federal employees from engaging in partisan politics by repeatedly slamming Trump’s 2020 opponents in media interviews and on Twitter. (“Let me know when the jail sentence starts,” Conway scoffed in May.) Even as Trump sat with *TIME*, his Administration was tossing red meat out the back of the campaign wagon in the form of a pledge to deport “millions of illegal aliens” in the country.

THE NERVE CENTER of the re-election bid isn’t Trump Tower, where campaign mail arrives and Eric and Lara Trump have studios for television hits, or even the Arlington office tower. The node closest to Trump’s brain is a narrow room with a single window two doors down the hall from the Oval, where Jared Kushner sits. The President’s son-in-law, a former real estate developer and one-time moderate Democrat, began pitching in with policy research on trade and taxes back in 2015, then took a behind-the-scenes leadership role that November after he saw Trump ignite a crowd in Springfield, Ill. By the end of the campaign, he had emerged as a kind of shadow campaign manager, guiding Trump where possible and reassuring worried Republicans on all fronts. He’s playing a similar role this time around, as an architect of the campaign and troubleshooter, talking nearly every day with Eric Trump, Republican National Committee chair Ronna McDaniel and Parscale.

One of Kushner’s main projects has been populating the leadership ranks of the Republican Party with Trump loyalists. In February 2018, he and Eric Trump installed as head of the re-election effort Parscale, a lanky 43-year-old digital-marketing

entrepreneur from San Antonio who engineered Trump's targeted online-ad blitz in 2016. Parscale has hired about 60 staff and worked with the RNC to create an online fundraising platform, known as WinRed, to compete with ActBlue, the Democratic digital juggernaut. Drawing on his tech-startup background, Parscale is also developing a smartphone app that attempts to "gamify" Trump supporters' engagement with the campaign by offering prizes. In exchange for getting friends to share their contacts, hosting Trump events in their home or knocking on doors, voters get perks like better rally seats, photos with the President, signed hats and other incentives.

Parscale, a 6 ft. 8 in. former college basketball recruit, sees his role as Trump's facilitator. "He's the real campaign manager, the real finance director, the real director of everything," Parscale says. "My job is to build a team that's ready to deal with whatever happens."

More often than not, the President will go off-script, and a campaign official likens Trump's knack for riling voters to an old night-fishing trick, shining high-power flashlights into the water to draw quarry to the surface. "The United States is a pond. The President is like the lights," says the official, who requested anonymity to speak candidly. "If he's not there, there's no light, fish are deep, I need a really big lure, it's expensive." But, the adviser continues, when Trump lights things up with an issue like immigration or trade, it becomes easy to draw prospective voters out.

A rally in Grand Rapids, Mich., in late March offers a case in point. Trump issued an off-the-cuff threat to "close the damn border" if Mexico didn't stop two large caravans heading toward the southwest border. The crowd erupted in cheers. Electrified by the response, Trump told aides he wanted to move ahead with a plan to close ports of entry. A series of three tweets were drafted to be released on Trump's Twitter feed the next morning, announcing that large sections of the border would be closed the following week.

As news stories and web searches spiked, the campaign bought digital ads about immigration. Though the President later backed off the threat, his campaign kept the momentum going by spending \$250,000 over the next nine weeks pushing out ads on Facebook and paying for clicks on Google Search. "The content we produce, the advertising we platform, there's never been anything like it in politics," Parscale says. "We have our own television show in a way."

Using such techniques, Parscale has built a list of 35 million voter contacts. The outreach has been churning for more than a year now. When Trump barnstormed Republican strongholds before the midterm elections, officials asked attendees to text WALL or TRUMP to phone numbers plastered

on signs and scoreboards inside the arena. Those cell-phone numbers, and other data collected through RSVPs, help the campaign construct a community-level map of energized supporters and prospective volunteers—a cohort they call "the Army of Trump."

Since 2015, Trump has used rallies to serve up a potent cocktail of tribal resentment and rage. They thrill the President as much as anyone: talking to TIME in the Oval, he boasted of 120,000 people requesting tickets to his official re-election kickoff on June 18 in an Orlando arena. "This is the size of Madison Square Garden. I think it's slightly larger," he says. "It's where the Orlando Magic plays. It is packed. We'll have thousands and thousands of people outside."

The familiar slogan has been updated—Make America Great Again has become Keep America Great—but the tone of the show has not. Trump promised in Orlando to build a wall to keep out dangerous "aliens" and called the Democrats' immigration policies "the greatest betrayal of the American middle class and, frankly, American life." The swamp in Washington still needs draining, according to the President, even though it's now his bog. The crowd's enthusiasm waned when he talked about his achievements, but it broke out in raucous calls to "lock up" Hillary Clinton when he mentioned her name. "Our radical Democrat opponents are driven by hatred, prejudice and rage," he said in Orlando, pointing to House efforts to investigate his 2016 campaign's ties to Russia and possible obstruction of justice by the President. "They want to destroy you, and they want to destroy our country as we know it."

Jim Messina, who ran President Obama's 2012 re-election campaign, says this approach helps Trump dominate the national conversation on issues, like immigration, that motivate his base. Democratic strategists worry that the Trump campaign will have the chance to spend tens of millions of dollars building a campaign in the field and defining his opponents for months, all while the Democrats are mired in a long and brutal primary battle.

What mystifies many is that Trump, a lifelong pitchman, has never bothered to sell himself to the broader public. "The thing they are not doing, which I think is really odd, is doing any sort of general-election messaging," Messina says. "By this point [in the 2012 election], we were in the Midwest trying to tell the economic-recovery story, which you would kind of expect them to be doing right now. Instead every single thing they're doing is about the base." The problem with that, he adds, is the nation—including the battleground states that will decide the election—is growing more diverse every year, which sharpens Trump's need to expand his coalition. "If you just do a base strategy,

'He's the real campaign manager, the real finance director, the real director of everything. My job is to build a team that's ready to deal with whatever happens.'

BRAD PARSCALE,
Trump's campaign
manager

Q&A: DONALD TRUMP

President Donald Trump sat down in the Oval Office with TIME on June 17, the eve of his official re-election campaign kickoff. The following excerpts from the nearly hour-long conversation have been condensed and edited.

IRAN'S NUCLEAR PROGRAM

TIME: Iran overnight said it was considering enriching uranium at levels that would violate the 2015 nuclear agreement . . . Are you considering military action?

TRUMP: I wouldn't say that. I can't say that at all. It would be inappropriate. But they would be making a big mistake if they enriched.

TIME: Are they calling your bluff on this?

TRUMP: Time will tell.

IRAN'S ALLEGED ATTACKS ON OIL TANKERS

TIME: Are you concerned about Iran's attacks?

TRUMP: So far it's been very minor.

TIME: Does that mean that strategically you would go to war over nuclear weapons but not over passage through the Strait of Hormuz?

TRUMP: I would certainly go over nuclear weapons, and I would keep the other a question mark.

HONG KONG PROTESTS

TIME: What is your message to the demonstrators in Hong Kong right now?

TRUMP: They're obviously having a big impact, and I think they've been very effective in their dealings with China.

TIME: Do you support the demands of the protesters

against the extradition bill?

TRUMP: I'm going to let the protesters speak for themselves. I have our own argument with China, and I think it's going to work out.

THE BORDER WALL

TIME: At your rallies, there are signs that say, "Promises Made, Promises Kept." At the current rate, it's very unlikely that your wall will be built by Election Day.

TRUMP: We're building the wall right now. People don't understand. We are building the wall right now. It is under major construction.

TIME: There's 654 miles. You have 61 miles of fencing and barriers.

TRUMP: Well, there's 550 miles, and we will have over 450 miles built by the end of next year. We're also renovating tremendous amounts of wall. We're renovating and fixing. Areas that didn't have wall, we're putting temporary walls in.

TIME: Why are the numbers of people coming across now at a 13-year high then?

TRUMP: Because they're trying to come in because the economy is so good.

FAMILY SEPARATIONS

TIME: Do you know how many [immigrant] kids were separated from their parents under your Administration?

TRUMP: They have very accurate lists, actually.

TIME: Would you consider reinstating [the policy]?

TRUMP: I don't know. I don't like the concept of separation. I'd rather keep them from coming up. I got such a bad rap on that.

THE 2020 CAMPAIGN

TIME: Who do you think your toughest opponent would be?

TRUMP: I've done more in 2½ years than any President in the history of this country. You look at the tax cuts, you

look at ANWR [opening the Alaska National Wildlife Refuge for oil drilling]. You look at the [rescission of the Obamacare] individual mandate. You look at right-to-try [a law allowing terminally ill patients to try experimental drugs].

TIME: Your own campaign polling is showing a disconnect, people who are feeling the benefits of the economy but not giving you credit.

TRUMP: I agree with that. I'm not getting the full credit.

ABORTION LAWS

TIME: Do you support the Alabama abortion law that was recently passed [making abortion a felony in all cases except to prevent a "serious health risk" to the mother]?

TRUMP: I've always been for the exceptions [for rape, incest and protecting the life of the mother], and I think that's very important.

TIME: What about fetal-heartbeat bills, like in Georgia, which do have those exceptions?

TRUMP: We're studying it.

THE MUELLER REPORT

TIME: [Many of your former aides] testified under oath, at risk of prison time, that in the words of the Mueller report, you tried to "influence" and "control" the Mueller investigation.

TRUMP: I don't think they did that.

TIME: They did. I can give you the citations.

TRUMP: I could have ended that—Mueller—immediately under Article II, if I wanted to. I could have ended the whole thing very quickly. Very easily. I said let it play out, and the bottom line was no collusion, and subject to a review of the documents, no obstruction by the Attorney General.

TIME: For the record, sir, the report does say [that it] "does not exonerate" you.

TRUMP: On obstruction. There

was no crime.

TIME: You can obstruct justice without there being an underlying crime.

TRUMP: I'll go a step further. It was a crime committed by the other side.

TIME: Why would you try to limit the investigation?

TRUMP: I didn't limit the investigation.

TIME: You dictated a letter to Corey Lewandowski telling him to tell [former Attorney General Jeff] Sessions to limit the investigation [to future Russia meddling].

TRUMP: I could have told Sessions myself if I wanted to.

FOUR MORE YEARS

TIME: What are the new goals you want to take up in your second term?

TRUMP: We're rebuilding the military, which is creating jobs. We're doing some really good things in health care. If we get back the House, we get the Senate, we get the presidency, we will have a great health care plan.

IMPEACHMENT

TIME: Do you think impeachment would actually help you?

TRUMP: It might. I mean a lot of people say it would. Most people say it would. But I think it's inappropriate. The only thing I did wrong was winning an election. By winning an election, I made them so angry. I'll tell you what, winning an election and building a great economy.

THE ECONOMY

TIME: You could reach out some, beyond the base, and maybe get more credit for that economy.

TRUMP: It might happen. But I think my base is so strong, I'm not sure that I have to do that. But I'd like to do it, just as President, I'd like to do it. Not for political reasons. I'd like to do it as President.

then you're not going to be able to expand to any states," Messina says. "And I think that is where this election is going."

THERE IS, OF COURSE, a large section of the country, the government and its centers of power that have not bent to Trump's politics. That can infuriate the President. Halfway through the TIME interview, the subject turns to special counsel Robert Mueller, who survived nearly two years of attacks by Trump and his allies to produce a damning 448-page document enumerating Russia's efforts to help Trump win in 2016.

Some of the people closest to Trump offered damaging evidence. His former chief of staff, White House counsel, deputy campaign chairman, Deputy National Security Adviser, staff secretary, communications director and others testified under oath, at risk of prison time, to acts by Trump that Mueller said were designed to "influence" and "control" the probe. While Mueller declined to say whether those acts amounted to obstruction of justice, Democrats and at least one Republican say they did. Pressed by TIME about his aides' testimony, Trump becomes angry. "It's incredible," he says. "With all I've done, with the tremendous success I've had, that TIME magazine writes about me the way they write is a disgrace, O.K.?"

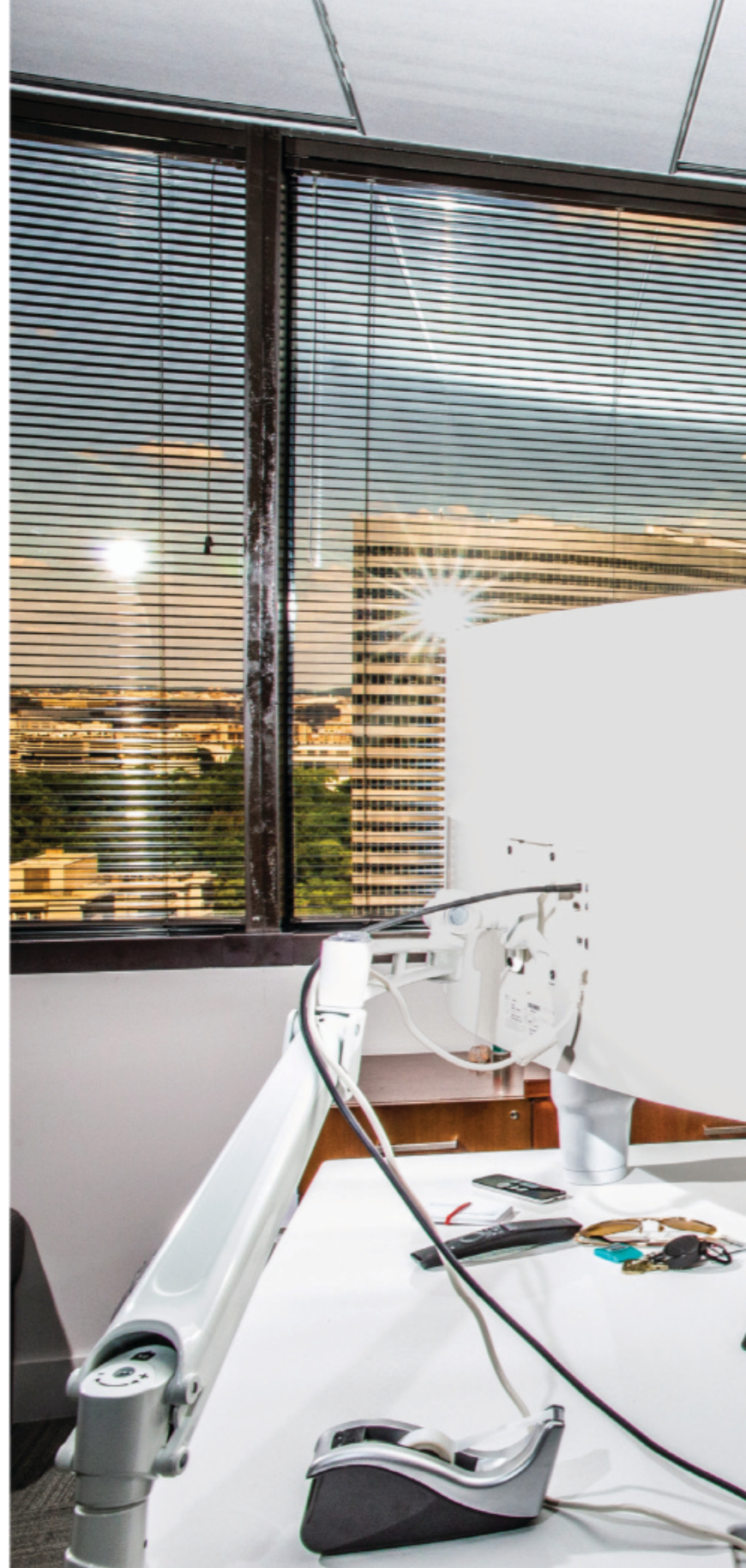
The moment provides a glimpse into why the Trump re-election operation runs on perpetual outrage. Those closest to him know a conventional campaign couldn't regulate a man who scorns political and ethical norms and is unable to let challenges to his authority pass. He isn't faking his outrage—about the media, the Mueller report, his opponents—and that anger, whatever its ultimate source, is politically powerful. "Nobody has been treated as unfairly as Donald Trump," the President says.

That in turn means that Trump's team may not have much choice in the kind of campaign it runs. "A unique challenge Trump's campaign will always have is Trump is not tethered to the campaign," says Robby Mook, who managed Clinton's 2016 presidential bid. "He is going to go out and do whatever he does every day. So his campaign will have to figure out, strategically and tactically, how to cope with that." The machine that Kushner and Parscale have built is designed to harness the power of Trump's grievance message, which resonates with tens of millions of voters. "He's not pivoting," Kushner tells TIME. "The President is who he is and doesn't pretend to be anything else."

But they also recognize they need to do more. The campaign is knocking on doors in African-American enclaves in Florida and North Carolina to talk up the landmark prison-reform law Trump signed in December 2018. It's also testing how to pitch Latino voters in New Mexico and Nevada on

'We all have our meetings. But I generally do my own thing.'

PRESIDENT TRUMP, reflecting on his tendency to follow his instincts



Trump's Chinese tariffs. "The No. 1 issue driving Latino voters to like him and support him is his fight against China," a senior campaign official says, adding that the campaign is working to figure out why that's an animating issue.

But cranking the outrage machine for so long may make it hard for voters to hear a subtler frequency. Privately, some Trump advisers say they need to do a better job touting the President's record, especially on the economy. But can that message break through the pain Trump's tariffs have caused for many voters? And in the meantime, a large chunk of the campaign budget is still being spent on hot-button topics like immigration. "They are trying to say they are running a normal campaign and doing outreach," says Messina, who now tracks ad buys for his consulting firm. "It's all show."

For the moment, polls show Trump trailing the



Democratic front runners in some key states. Trump is being briefed on polling data at least twice a month, and in the past few weeks has been requesting more granular breakdowns, according to a former adviser who speaks to Trump. “He’s aware that he’s not beating any of the major candidates right now one-on-one nationally,” the adviser says. He fired some of his pollsters after internal surveys were leaked showing him trailing Biden.

Trump himself doesn’t seem to know whether he can really beat the odds. Still fuming about Mueller, Trump keeps coming back to the investigation and makes contradictory claims about its effects. “Based on the economy, I should be up 15 or 20 points higher,” he says, but “the thing that I have that nobody’s ever had before, from the day I came down the escalator, I have had a phony witch hunt against me.” Minutes later, he asserts the opposite.

The Mueller probe “turned out to be an asset,” he says, “because it’s really energized our base like I’ve never seen before.”

There’s no question Trump has significant advantages as he looks ahead to the re-election fight, beginning with time and money and the biggest megaphone on the planet. In his position, most incumbents would appeal for four more years by pledging to unite the country. Casting this approach aside makes him “historically unusual” for an incumbent President, says Timothy Naftali, former director of the Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum. “He basically wants to beat the house, politically, again.” Whether he wins his bet or not, Trump’s campaign will test the power of outrage. —*With reporting by* TESSA BERENSON, MASSIMO CALABRESI, EDWARD FELSENTAL *and* ABBY VESOULIS/WASHINGTON

▲
Campaign manager Brad Parscale has designed an operation that’s responsive to Trump’s impulses

World

*Rabbi Shneur
Kesselman of
the synagogue in
Malmo, Sweden.
His office windows
are glazed with
bulletproof glass*



THE HATRED STALKING EUROPE

The rise of anti-Semitism across the Continent and the fight to resist it

**By Vivienne Walt/
Lund, Sweden**

THE NOTE JAMMED ONTO A WINDSHIELD IN Sweden in March last year was designed to terrify. WE ARE WATCHING YOU, YOU JEWISH SWINE, read the message to a retired professor, written on paper with the logo of the Nordic Resistance Movement, a Swedish neo-Nazi organization.

In the bucolic university town of Lund, with its cobblestone streets and medieval buildings, the threat seemed jarringly out of place. More notes followed. “I was really scared,” says the professor, a small woman of 70 who is too fearful of a further attack to reveal her name in print.

Finally in October, an attacker broke into the professor’s home before dawn and set it alight. By a stroke of luck, the professor was not there. But her living and dining rooms were reduced to ash. So too were the writings of her late mother, detailing her internment in the Nazi concentration camp Auschwitz. “For the first time in my life I have needed therapy,” she says, over tea in a sunlit café in Lund. “I have not known what to do with my life.”

The professor was targeted because she is Jewish, and in that she is not alone. Anti-Semitism is

flourishing worldwide. Attacks on Jews doubled in the U.S. from 2017 to 2018, according to the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) in New York City. That included the shooting in Pittsburgh’s Tree of Life synagogue last October, which killed 11 worshippers.

But the trend is especially pronounced in Europe, the continent where 75 years ago hatred of Jews led to their attempted extermination. The numbers speak plainly in country after country. For each of the past three years, the U.K. has reported the highest number of anti-Semitic attacks ever recorded. In France, which has the world’s third biggest Jewish population, government records showed a 74% spike in anti-Semitic attacks from 2017 to 2018. And in Germany, anti-Semitic incidents rose nearly 19% last year. The findings prompted Germany’s first anti-Semitism coordinator to caution Jews in May about the dangers of wearing *kippahs*, the traditional skull-caps, in public.

Unsurprisingly, many Jews in Europe feel under assault. In an E.U. poll of European Jews across the Continent, published in January, fully 89% of those surveyed said anti-Semitism was rife and getting worse. After polling 16,300 Jews in 12 E.U. countries in a separate survey, the E.U.’s Fundamental Rights Agency concluded Europe’s Jews were subjected to “a sustained stream of abuse” that has increased this decade. With the decade drawing to a close, 38% of those surveyed said they were thinking about emigrating “because they no longer feel safe as Jews,” says the E.U. report.

European officials were stunned at the findings,

but perhaps they ought not to have been. A complex web of factors has created this moment in time for one of Europe's oldest communities. Anti-Semitism has found oxygen among white supremacists on the far right and Israel bashers on the far left. Millions of new immigrants are settling in Europe, many from Muslim countries deeply hostile to Israel and sometimes also Jews. Exacerbated by the Internet's ability to spread hatred, anti-Jewish feeling is surging in ways that experts fear could result in a conflagration, if governments and communities fail to tackle its causes effectively.

And yet, for all the grim statistics, there are signs of hope across Europe. As anti-Semitism has risen, so too has the fight against it intensified, among both regular Europeans and their politicians. E.U. leaders now describe the battle as one they cannot afford to lose, as though it encapsulates the struggle for Europe's very soul. "Anti-Semitism is a negation of what France is," French President Emmanuel Macron said in February, visiting a Jewish cemetery where swastikas had been daubed on about 90 graves.

Not waiting for their leaders, communities across Europe have begun to take action themselves. Raised learning about Nazism, many fear what might happen if anti-Semitism is left unchallenged. In recent years, teachers, imams, rabbis and local activists have launched countless initiatives to break stereotypes, educate youth and forge links across religions. In several interviews with *TIME*, those fighting anti-Semitism caution it will likely take many years for their efforts to succeed. Still, they have begun. In Paris, Delphine Horvilleur, a rabbi and author of a recent book on anti-Semitism, says a young Muslim worshipper approached her in her synagogue after she presided over a joint Muslim-Jewish prayer service.

"He told me, 'I grew up in a family where anti-Semitism was the music in the background,'" she says. Now, she says, "We have to ask ourselves, How can we make sure they have the ability to lower the volume?"

THE HORRORS of World War II shamed the world into acknowledging the evils of anti-Semitism. But exposure did not cure it. Instead, say experts, the hatred simmered for years. "There was a consensus that anti-Semitism should not be voiced openly after World War II," says Günther Jikeli, a specialist in European anti-Semitism at Indiana University, who is German. "This has gone away with time."

The advent of social media provided a platform for conspiracy theorists to circulate racist fantasies more broadly. After the financial crisis of 2008, for example, the ADL warned that anti-Semites were spreading lies on message boards and social-media sites that Jews were somehow to blame for the crash. One rumor went that Lehman Brothers, the vaunted investment bank founded by European



From left: The Nordic Resistance Movement demonstrates in Ludvika, Sweden; Marc Robbs and his children play in the Jewish quarter of Sarcelles, France

Jews, had transferred \$400 billion to Israeli banks before its collapse.

A decade on, those who monitor anti-Semitism believe each attack or conspiracy theory posted online, no matter how small, sets off others. As social media has become an ever greater and yet more unregulated part of our lives, hatred has proliferated. "It used to be that anti-Semitism peaked during times of conflict in the Middle East," says Katharina von Schnurbein, the European Commission's first-ever coordinator for combatting anti-Semitism. "Now the incidents remain at their highest level ever recorded."

Von Schnurbein was appointed in 2015 after three mass shootings in Europe put the problem of anti-Semitism in the Continent in stark relief. Each was committed by Muslim extremists born and raised in Europe, claiming allegiance to al-Qaeda or ISIS. The first, at a Jewish kindergarten in Toulouse, France, in 2012, killed three children. Then in 2014, a gunman killed four people at the Jewish Museum in Brussels. In Paris the following year, four people were killed at a kosher supermarket in the French capital.

Jews were by no means the only victims of Islamist terrorists amid the rise of ISIS. European officials had long understated anti-Semitism among Muslim Europeans, perhaps for fear of feeding anti-immigrant sentiments. They finally appointed two coordinators in late 2015 to combat anti-Semitism and also anti-Muslim hatred—twin prejudices that

SWEDEN: ULF PALM—ZUMA; FRANCE: MAGNUS WENNMAN FOR TIME



seem to rise and fall in tandem. “They feed into one another,” says Marwan Muhammad, former director of the Collective Against Islamophobia in France, which has 10,000 members. Just as discrimination against Muslims is a “daily experience,” he says, so is anti-Semitism “more or less everywhere.”

Some claim anti-Semitism has become normalized in certain Muslim communities in France. “People receive the message of hatred of Jews from their babyhood,” says Rabbi Michel Serfaty, founder of the Jewish Muslim Friendship Association of France, which organizes joint social activities for Muslim and Jewish youth in a heavily immigrant area south of Paris. He says he recently tried to introduce some of the teenagers to classical music. “They laughed, saying, ‘That is for Jews.’ It is banned in their homes,” he says.

Tensions sporadically erupt in violence. In Sarcelles, a French commune where Jews and Arab immigrants have lived alongside each other for decades, violence erupted during a pro-Palestinian march in 2014. Jewish businesses came under attack by demonstrators, many of them Muslim. Five years on, the Jewish residents of Sarcelles live with armed French soldiers on permanent patrol on their streets, in a measure of the government’s concern about further race riots. “We live with a sense of anxiety,” says René Taïeb, a Jewish community leader, sitting in a kosher café in Sarcelles. “We have a bag packed, ready to go, in the closet.”

But Europe’s most hard-core anti-Semites are arguably on the far right, and they are slowly joining the mainstream, as Europe’s political loyalties have fractured and polarized. In Hungary, the far-right Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s campaign against Hungarian-American billionaire George Soros is regarded as thinly veiled anti-Semitism. And here in Sweden, ostensibly the most liberal country in Europe, a group of far-right extremists has achieved something close to political legitimacy.

The Nordic Resistance Movement may seem like a delusional fringe group; its toxic goal—to rid Sweden of Jews—has attracted just a few hundred active members around Scandinavia, according to estimates by the Expo Foundation in Stockholm, which tracks white supremacists. But in 2015, the Nordic Resistance Movement registered itself as an official political party in Sweden, allowing it to field candidates in elections, and offering it some protection against an outright ban by the government.

The group won about 2,000 votes in legislative elections last year and participated in the country’s annual gathering of political parties. But its tiny size is belied by its presence online, which hugely amplifies its message. “The reach of these ideas has become stronger because of the Internet,” says Jonathan Leman, a researcher for the Expo Foundation. Leman says the group’s impact is reflected in the higher rate of anti-Semitic incidents reported by Swedish Jews, like bullying at schools and work-

places. “There is a connection between this propaganda and the experience of Jews,” he says.

On the opposite end of the political spectrum, anti-Semitism has also flared up. During months of the so-called Yellow Vest protests in France, a handful of demonstrators in the crowd resurrected the stereotype of Jews controlling the levers of power. In February, a group of protesters accosted renowned French philosopher Alain Finkielkraut on a Paris street, screaming, “You are going to hell!” and “Go back to Tel Aviv!”

The problem is not always so overt, however. In the U.K., the opposition Labour Party leader Jeremy Corbyn has faced fury among some members over his alleged tolerance for anti-Semitism, especially regarding criticism of the Israeli government. The veteran leftist has said the party’s problem stems from a “small number of members and supporters,” and has pledged to stamp it out. But his defense has rung hollow to some. “The party is institutionally anti-Semitic,” says Luciana Berger, a Jewish member of Parliament who quit Labour this year over the issue. Under Corbyn, she tells TIME, “there is more of a permission for it to happen now.”

THE EXPERIENCE of Jewish people in Europe varies widely, but the stories are sometimes grim. In 2010, Carinne Sjöberg, an Israeli-born immigrant who has lived in Umea, Sweden, for 35 years, opened a Jewish community center, enabling the area’s 120 or so Jews to celebrate holidays like Passover and Rosh Hashanah together for the first time in the town’s history.

But one morning Sjöberg arrived at the center to find photos of Hitler pasted outside. These became a regular feature every January on Holocaust Memorial Day, along with swastikas painted on the walls. Then the messages turned personal. A notebook left at Sjöberg’s home listed “100 reasons you should leave Sweden.” After that came death threats. “I got messages on my phone saying, ‘We will kill you and your kids,’” says Sjöberg, 58, who is a local council member in Umea for Sweden’s Liberal Party.

After a stream of threats, Sjöberg finally shut the Jewish center in 2017, and last year she moved, fearing an attack inside her house. Her new address and phone number are now kept secret. “Somewhere they broke me,” she says. “It was a journey of pain.”

Many Jews in Europe say it is not the major incidents but the minor ones that prove how widespread this problem is. They describe anti-Semitism as having seeped into quotidian life, in some ways complicating the effort to tackle the problem. “Unless it is very serious and you are physically attacked, there is a tendency not to call the police,” says Fredrik Sieradzki, spokesman for the Jewish community in Malmo, on Sweden’s southern border with Denmark.

Robert Ejnes, executive director of France’s major Jewish organization, CRIF, says that recently, his

18-year-old daughter almost forgot she had been called a “dirty shitty Jew” in the street near their Paris home. She mentioned it to her father much later, as an afterthought. “It was not the event of her day,” says Ejnes, shaking his head. “To me, that spoke to the depth of the problem.” In its 2018 database on anti-Semitism, the Kantor Center said the phenomenon “has mainstreamed and become an integral part of life.”

The more insidious effect is not at all visible: the choice by many Jews to remain discreet about their religious background. In numerous interviews, European Jews tell TIME that they avoid wearing a Star of David, and if they do, they tuck it under their shirts. Many also forgo affixing the traditional miniature prayer scrolls, called mezuzahs, to their doorposts, as many American Jews do, choosing instead to hang them inside. “Parents say to their kids, ‘Don’t tell your friends you are Jewish.’ Jewish teachers are afraid to tell kids they are Jewish,” says Shneur Kesselman, the Chabad-Lubavitch rabbi of Malmo, who moved from his native Detroit in 2004.

Kesselman recently installed bulletproof glass on his office window in Malmo’s synagogue, which dates from 1903. He says Jews have steadily adapted to low-level hostility. “We feel so long as our names are not on a list, we are O.K.,” he says. “There is a danger that we are accepting much too much.”

EUROPE HAS BEGUN to take action at an official level. Von Schnurbein, the European Commission coordinator, believes anti-Semitism has always signaled bigger violence ahead in Europe, as an early indicator of spiraling tensions. For that reason alone, she says, “we will do everything we can for Jews to have a future in Europe.” On June 20, the European Commission gathered police and interior ministers as well as Jewish community leaders to forge strategies for better security.

But communities are attempting to heal the rift created by anti-Semitism through outreach and education. Just one example is in Malmo, home to about 1,500 Jews as well as about 45,000 Muslims. In 2016, Moshe David HaCohen, a rabbi originally from a Jewish settlement in the West Bank, joined forces with Salahuddin Barakat, one of the city’s imams, who is from Beirut. The two launched Amanah, an organization to fight both anti-Semitism and Islamophobia in the city.

The partnership of the two men—an odd couple from opposite sides of the Middle East conflict—has served as a powerful message in itself. In 2017, for example, a pro-Palestinian support group chanted “Death to the Jews” during a demonstration in Malmo, in response to President Donald Trump’s moving the U.S. embassy to Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. HaCohen and Barakat invited the group to meet the next day to discuss the region. “It really

‘WE ARE ALWAYS AFRAID OF THE LONE WOLVES ... THE LANGUAGE ON SOCIAL MEDIA IS HARDENING.’

—**ZANDRA BRODD**, southern Sweden’s police inspector for hate crimes



put our work to the test,” HaCohen says. The meeting ended with the demonstrators saying “every Jew must feel safe,” he says.

After two Muslim teenagers attempted to set fire to Malmo’s synagogue last March, HaCohen and Barakat telephoned their school principal, then visited the class the next day to discuss the incident. “We did not point out the kids,” Barakat says, explaining they used the time to give a lesson about anti-Semitism, rather than punish them.

Elsewhere in Sweden, Jewish communities have devised other tactics. Public hostility against Kesselman, Malmo’s Hasidic rabbi, inspired local psychologist Jehoshua Kaufman to organize a protest that was both a demonstration and a show of faith—a *kippah* walk, on which both Jewish and non-Jewish citizens wear the traditional skullcaps in public, in protest against anti-Semitism.

One evening in 2011, Kaufman says, he asked about 15 congregants in Malmo’s synagogue to join him in not removing their *kippahs* as they left the building. “The community said, ‘They will kill us in the streets,’” he recalls. “They said, ‘You need police protection.’ I said no police.” The walk proceeded peacefully, and Kaufman says the experience was liberating. “Within a few weeks there were 100 people walking,” he says. “Then suddenly it was 500 people, and politicians showed up to make speeches.” There are now regular *kippah* walks in Malmo, Stockholm and Berlin.

Taïeb, the community leader in Sarcelles, says the

*Desecrated
graves in
a Jewish
cemetery
near
Strasbourg,
France*

best form of resistance might be to remind anti-Semites who Jews really are—their neighbors, and fellow citizens. He recalls watching the protest in 2014 spiral into violence and deciding to gather about 100 men to surround the synagogue. Instead of chanting Jewish prayers, as one might have expected, they decided instead to sing “La Marseillaise,” France’s national anthem. “We wanted to make the point that we are French, really French, who happen to be Jewish.”

Few believe there is a quick solution to Europe’s problem of anti-Semitism, however. In Lund, the culprit behind the arson attack on the Jewish professor’s house has not yet been identified. A separate attack, also in October, likewise remains unsolved. Police remain uncertain whether the Nordic Resistance Movement, or someone inspired by it, committed the attack. “We are always afraid of the lone wolves,” says Zandra Brodd, chief police inspector for hate crimes in southern Sweden. That worry has increased, she says. “The language on social media is hardening.”

Yet, after a long period of feeling paralyzed by fear, the professor says she is finally venturing out. “Every day, I wake up and tell myself to go out and repair myself,” she says. Her home, rebuilt, now has security glass and alarms, far different from before the attack. “My house was wonderful, totally open, with big magnolia trees in the garden. The magnolia trees survived.” —*With reporting by SUYIN HAYNES/ LONDON* □

WHAT STONEWALL SPARKED

LGBTQ activists reflect
on 50 years of change

By Charles Kaiser
Photographs by Collier Schorr

Timing makes history. If the police raid on the Stonewall Inn had happened earlier, it probably would have been instantly forgotten, like so many other attacks on surreptitious gay meeting places. The febrile feeling on that last weekend in June, 50 years ago, was possible only in the final year of the 1960s. That decade's spiritual alchemy was essential to what is remembered as the opening shot in the gay revolution: a combination of everything from the Pill to LSD, from Bob Dylan to the Beatles, from the civil rights movement to the women's movement to the battle to end the war in Vietnam. *Conventional wisdom* had become a non sequitur; that sea change allowed this last transformation.

In the year before Stonewall, Americans experienced unprecedented sensory overload. The Tet offensive destroyed the idea that the U.S. would win in Vietnam. Martin Luther King Jr.

► Meet more activists at time.com/stonewall-50



Zackary Drucker

'The notion that we are like precious snowflakes who are whining and complaining all the time is such a misnomer. Go ahead and underestimate us. We are tough as nails. We have been bullied our whole lives. Every time we step out the door we are swimming upstream. That does not create weak character.'

Drucker, a trans woman, is an artist whose work explores themes of gender and sexuality. She was also a producer on *Transparent*.

and Robert F. Kennedy were killed. Protests led to hand-to-hand combat on the Columbia University campus and in the streets outside the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. More than a hundred cities burned after King's assassination, and Richard Nixon was elected President. It was also in 1968 that, after hearing Stokely Carmichael say "Black is beautiful," gay activist Frank Kameny coined something for his own movement: "Gay is good."

So on June 28, 1969, when police arrived at 2 a.m. in Manhattan's Greenwich Village neighborhood to raid the Stonewall Inn, expecting the arrests and flight that were routine in an age when queerness was criminalized, the patrons—drag queens and lesbians, hippies and gay men in suits, a group as diverse as the activists in these photographs—fought back.

Perhaps it was because Stormé DeLarverie, a butch black lesbian who wore men's clothes, exploded expectations by fighting the policeman who arrested her: "The cop hit me, and I hit him back." Although it has been endlessly debated ever since, it doesn't really matter whether it was Stormé who threw the first punch. The conflagration that came after was what counted. "The police got the shock of their lives when those queens came out of that bar and pulled off their wigs and went after them," Stormé told me 30 years later. "I knew sooner or later people were going to get the same attitude that I had. They had just pushed once too often." Deputy police inspector Seymour Pine led the raid. "The homosexuals were usually very docile," he later recalled. "But this night was different. I had been in combat situations, but there was never any time that I felt more scared than then."

On June 6 of this year, the current New York City police commissioner offered a 21st century kind of closure: an apology for the raid. Gay activists like city council speaker Corey Johnson welcomed the official contrition, but the apology also highlighted a peculiar aspect of such moments in history. We may decry the law and denounce the actions of the police even as we recognize that the injuries suffered that night were trivial compared with the confrontation's benefits. There's a

Chella Man

'I want my body to be visible in life, in media, in the world. I hope my scars never fade away.'

Man, a deaf and trans artist, actor and model, will play Jericho in the second season of the DC Universe series *Titans*.



Karla Jay

'Things are really coming full circle. We saw an evolution in the direction of corporatization; now we're coming around to a more activist contemporary moment, toward a cry for seriousness and political activism as well as joy and celebration.'

Jay (between her spouse Karen F. Kerner and her guide dog Duchess), an early member of the Gay Liberation Front, is a professor emerita at Pace University.





Martin Boyce

‘My activism now is to speak about Stonewall, to flesh out this idea of what Stonewall was, to give it a more definite point of view. I have a good memory, and there are so few of us left that I am almost forced to do this, if we want to get the record straight.’

Boyce, who was at the Stonewall Inn on the night of the 1969 raid, is a chef.

reason this anniversary will be marked with celebration rather than mourning: without that pitched battle in Sheridan Square, with shouts of “Gay power!” in the air, it might have taken years longer for the movement to erupt.

Just weeks after the raid, the Gay Liberation Front began distributing its first leaflets with this pressing question: “Do you think homosexuals are revolting? You bet your sweet ass we are!”

THERE WERE JUST a half-dozen gay organizations across the country when Stonewall happened, and only the Daughters of Bilitis and the Mattachine Societies had even the smallest of public profiles. Now, suddenly, there were new gay organizations popping up all over.

It was “like a prairie fire,” remembered Jim Fouratt, a founder of the Gay Liberation Front. “People were ready.” Fouratt was part of a team that traveled across the country creating new chapters for the group. By the mid-1970s, the organizations queer people could choose from also included the National Gay Task Force, the Lambda Legal Defense and Education fund, and hundreds of others around the world.

Jack Nichols and Lige Clarke were the first known gay journalists to write about the uprising. They called on young activists to “carry the sexual revolt triumphantly into the councils of the U.S. government, into the anti-homosexual churches, into the offices of anti-homosexual psychiatrists, into the city government, and into the state legislatures which make our manner of lovemaking a crime.” Today, the anniversary of Stonewall will be saluted in the places around the world where Nichols’ and Clarke’s dreams have miraculously come true. Everywhere else, that moment’s rebellious spirit is even more important, because the revolution sparked by those indomitable street kids 50 years ago remains unfinished.

Kaiser is the author of The Gay Metropolis: The Landmark History of Gay Life in America, which was recently reissued. Schorr’s Stonewall at 50 series is on view at the Alice Austen House and was made in collaboration with the LGBT Community Center of New York City.



Achebe Powell

‘We’ve missed such an opportunity, this LGBTQ movement—could you imagine the power if we linked with the NAACP or La Raza in a way that was fundamental? There are people yelling at this moment, “We’re almost there,” but we’re not there until we have addressed race and gender and class in context of sexual orientation.’

Powell, a founder of the Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice, is an educator and organizer.

Agosto Machado

‘I have no advice for young people. Many people think they’re disconnected, they don’t talk, they listen to music while walking into traffic, or what have you. I cannot judge anybody. I’m very open to what the next generation brings forth. Change is change, and change is for the better.’

Machado (*left*), who frequented the Stonewall Inn in the 1960s, is a performance artist.

Merrie Cherry

‘We can’t forget about Compton’s Cafeteria, where, before Stonewall, there was an uprising of trans women who were being mistreated. That was an era of queer people saying “No more.” There’s so much rich history out there that we’re a part of.’

Cherry (*right*), a drag performer, created the Brooklyn Nightlife Awards.





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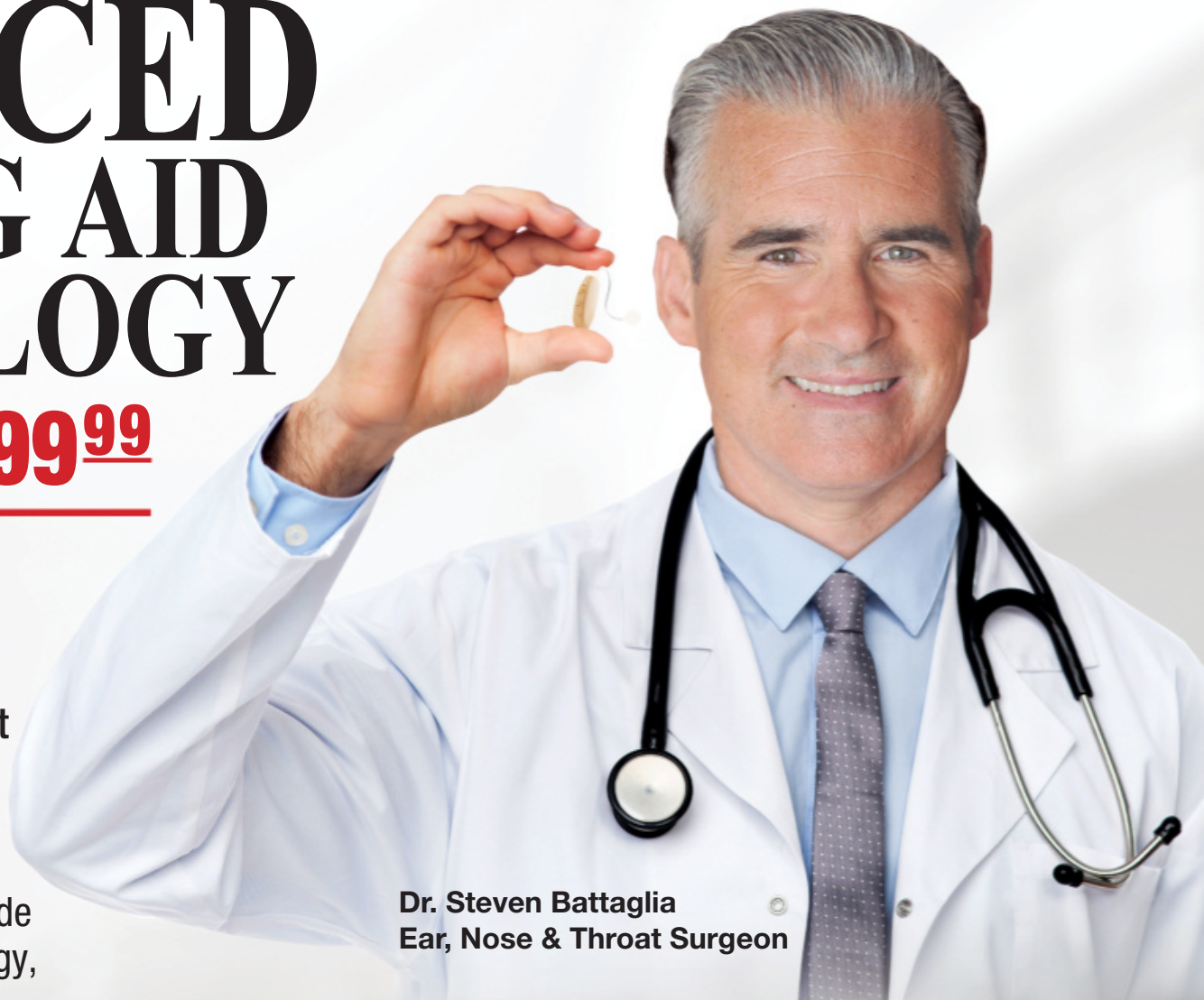
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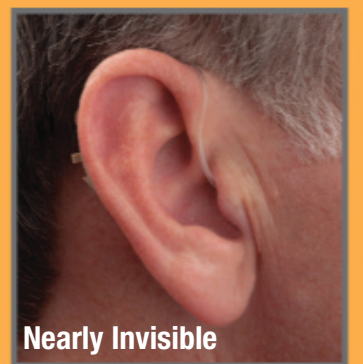
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BOOKS

When sisterhood gets slippery

By Stephanie Zacharek

FRIENDSHIPS BETWEEN WOMEN—ESPECIALLY among groups of women, where tendrils of energy and intuition entwine and collide like the offshoots of willful plants—seem to come with so many attendant complications. Ideally, everyone is growing toward and reaching for the same sun. But what if you're battling for the same air and water? What happens when petty resentments become destructive lesions, or when envy chokes off reason? The promise women have made to one another, once unspoken but now a kind of noisy anthem, is that all women must support one another, all the time. But deep in our hearts we know it can't always work like that, perhaps especially with those who are closest to us. Because women are people, and conflict between people is inevitable. Familiarity may nourish intimacy, but it can also breed that other thing, as damaging to a friendship as drought is to greenery.

Luckily, we have fiction to help us sort through these issues vicariously. Three new novels arriving in June examine, at close range and sometimes in painful detail, the intricacies of friendships between and among women: In Mona Awad's *Bunny*, a clique of preening girl-women in a graduate program welcome an outlier into their group, with unsettling consequences. Lauren Mechling's *How Could She* details the on-again, off-again friendship, fraught with jealousy and anxiety, between three women in the unstable world of New York media. And in *The Paper Wasp*, by Lauren Acampora, an awkward, solitary aspiring filmmaker languishes in her Michigan hometown, gazing from afar at the much shinier life of her childhood best friend turned Hollywood ingenue. Portions of these books are funny; some passages are eerily poetic. But each turns over that rock that most of us prefer not to look under, unafraid to face what may lie beneath.

BEFORE THE 20TH CENTURY, novels about friendships between women were relatively uncommon: in the 1800s, Jane Austen explored sisterly bonds of affection and tension, and in *Jane Eyre*, Charlotte Brontë emphasized the brief but formative friendship between the heroine and her classmate Helen Burns. Only later did novelists truly begin exploring female friendships, especially in popular fiction. The 1920s brought us the man-hunting antics of Lorelei Lee and her friend Dorothy in Anita Loos' *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes*. In the 1960s, Mary McCarthy explored the interlocking ambitions and disappointments of eight Vassar graduates in *The Group*. And in *Waiting to Exhale*, published in 1992, Terry McMillan traced the bonds linking four middle-class women as they lovingly navigated a period in their lives when there was no Mr. Right in sight.

But friendship isn't always about unconditional support. That's one of the angles Awad, author of 2016's *13 Ways of Looking at a Fat Girl*, covers in *Bunny*, a chronicle of complex friendships that are largely about calculation. Samantha, a student in an M.F.A. writing program at a tony New England university, doesn't come close to fitting in, either in terms of the amount of money she has (none) or the subjects she focuses on (the darkness of the human soul). And she detests her workshop cohort, a group of ultra-feminine women whom she and her only friend, a no-nonsense, fishnet-wearing local named Ava, have nicknamed the Bunnies, because they cloyingly refer to one another as Bunny.

When the Bunnies draw Samantha into their circle, she finds out what they're really up to: it involves magic, dreamboat men and actual rabbits. *Bunny* is a kind of pastel-toned goth lit, an examination of what happens when "soft" femininity meets the tougher kind—but one that also recognizes how blurry the distinction can be. The Bunnies have created a shared identity grounded in a superficial vision of womanhood, asserting—and not wrongly—that it's O.K. to wear flashy dresses and lipstick and elaborate hairstyles if we want to. But the Bunnies' aggressive girliness is just a mask for their selfishness and cruelty. Samantha trades her one true friend for a set of false ones, a clique whose embrace, literally and figuratively, is restrictive. She recoils when the Bunnies move in for a group hug: "The blob nods its four heads vigorously ... It mashes its many-boobed body into my face so I can't breathe anything but grass and cupcake perfume."

This isn't your garden-variety—or even your rabbit-hutch—view of feminist sisterhood. But *Bunny* is also an exploration of untapped power. In some ways, it's a spiritual cousin to Stephen King's *Carrie*, an inquiry into the sorts of things a woman might do when those around her have pushed past her limit.

LIKE BUNNY, Mechling's women-in-the-city comedy of manners *How Could She* focuses on women seeking to communicate with the world through their art, or even just through their craft. Sunny is

What happens when petty resentments become destructive lesions?



a successful Canadian artist and magazine columnist living in New York City with her rich husband. Her friend Geraldine is stuck in Toronto but longs to move to New York, where she hopes to jump-start her own magazine career. Rachel, the sole American, is a wife and new mother who has just started writing young-adult novels; she's friends with Geraldine but has never much cared for Sunny. Then these allegiances shift, and Mechling captures the prickly feelings of possessiveness and isolation that creep in when two people in a triangle—even a platonic one—draw close, shutting out the third. Add to that the stress of trying to make a living when you're a woman on the far side of 30, in a field that's almost no longer a field yet is still dominated by men. *How Could She* has

a vibrant modern energy, and it gets how hard it can be to preserve friendships when we're so busy going after everything else we want in life.

While *Bunny* and *How Could She* focus on friendship among groups of women, Acampora's *The Paper Wasp* fixes its gaze on one magnetic and increasingly twisted friendship, between withdrawn artist Abby and rising Hollywood star Elise, childhood friends drawn back together by their high school reunion. Abby has been obsessed with Elise for years, and seizes the opportunity to insinuate herself into every corner of her prodigal friend's life. But before long, her infatuation segues into repulsion. The character who starts out as the insecure underdog ends up as—well, something else.

The Paper Wasp is more hypnotic and sensual than either of the other books in this recent crop, which also makes it more potent. Acampora's prose has a seductive, pearlescent allure, even when she's addressing doomed friendships, friends who can never live up to our expectations, friends who betray.

Abby, unlikable but not wholly unsympathetic, sees through people to the point of looking right past them. She's no kind of role model, and you'll be glad you don't have any friends like her. (Or at least I hope you don't.)

IN FACT, NONE of these books offer any consoling way forward in dealing with the thorniest parts of our own friendships. Maybe, instead, their collective spikiness is a kind of safety feature, thrashing a clear space where we can examine our own anxieties about how women are supposed to relate to one another. All three of these novelists come right out and say certain things that many of us wouldn't dare speak aloud: Women aren't automatically great just because we're women. Sometimes, in fact, we're dreadful. Sometimes we like men better, simply because they're *not* women. Is that such a sin?

And yet there are things our women friends can give us that men just can't. It's no wonder we always come back. We expect the most from our female friendships, maybe because we expect so much from ourselves. In the workplace and outside it, women work hard at being superhuman. Sometimes it takes a book to remind you that being human is hard enough. □

Girls of summer

Bonds between women can be complicated, but solidarity and support are crucial parts of the canon. Here, four more summer novels that showcase female friendship and sisterhood.

—Annabel Gutterman



THE VAN APFEL GIRLS ARE GONE Felicity McLean

A grown woman probes the unsolved disappearance of three girls she grew up with. (June 25)



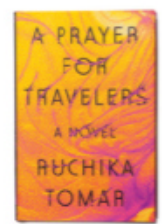
THE MOST FUN WE EVER HAD Claire Lombardo

Four sisters reflect on their past when an old family secret resurfaces and causes a shift in their lives. (June 25)



SUPPER CLUB Lara Williams

Dissatisfied women reclaim their bodies in an unlikely club that celebrates desire and rebellion. (July 9)



A PRAYER FOR TRAVELERS Ruchika Tomar

Small-town secrets surround a teen as she searches for a close friend who has gone missing. (July 9)



Woody (Hanks) has got a friend—or something—in Forky (Hale)

REVIEW

Who needs a *Toy Story 4*? You just might

By Stephanie Zacharek

WE LIVE IN AN AGE OF SEQUELS UPON sequels; we're up to our ears in reboots and origin stories. No one needs a *Toy Story 4*, especially considering that the 2010 *Toy Story 3*, a lovely meditation on the need to move on to new things even when we're not quite ready for them, would have ended the franchise on a high and perfectly bittersweet note. And yet—even if no one needs a *Toy Story 4*, it's here, and the good news is that it's funny and imaginative and, in places, intriguingly strange. It's not trying to outdo *Toy Story 3*, which for many is the gold standard of the series. It's more like an after-dinner mint of a movie, with some fine new characters. Let's call it a perfectly acceptable work of superfluousness.

The major action of *Toy Story 4* kicks off with an existential crisis of manhood, or at least toyhood. Affable talking cowboy Woody (voiced by Tom Hanks)—along with his other toy pals, including spaced-out he-man Buzz Lightyear (Tim Allen) and cowgirl cutie Jessie (Joan Cusack)—has been out-

grown by his former owner and passed along to a new one, Bonnie (Madeleine McGraw), who's about to start kindergarten. Bonnie loves Woody at first, but the novelty wears off. He languishes in the toy closet, becoming slightly miffed when Bonnie grabs the sheriff's badge from his chest and transfers it to Jessie's: even in the toy box, the reign of the white man is coming to an end.

BUT WOODY FINDS a new sense of purpose with the arrival of one very weird homemade toy, Forky (Tony Hale), a clumsy naïf with two googly eyes of different sizes and a misshapen Mr. Bill-style Play-Doh mouth. Forky comes from humble stock: Bonnie made him, on her first, lonely day of school, from a plastic spork and a handful of arts-and-crafts supplies rescued from the trash. At the risk of sounding unkind, I must report that Forky is not the sharpest tine in the plastic-cutlery value pack, and he's driven by a primal desire to return to the old homestead—that is, the trash basket. "I'm trash!" he chortles with unhinged glee as he runs off, repeatedly, to catapult into whatever garbage receptacle happens to be handy. Sensing that Bonnie is deeply attached to her bizarre plastic creation, Woody appoints himself Forky's wrangler, kicking his own feelings of obsolescence to the curb.

The adventure that follows involves

Woody's reunion with his old love, lamp figurine Bo Peep (Annie Potts), who'd been shipped off unceremoniously in a cardboard box nine years earlier. There's also sinister talking doll Gabby Gabby (Christina Hendricks), a creation straight out of *The Twilight Zone*. Gabby languishes in an antiques store because her voice box is broken; she sends her henchmen, a quartet of spooky, clattery ventriloquist dummies, to procure Woody's—it's like a riff on those nightmare stories of people who are happily drinking in a bar one minute only to wake up in a strange apartment, minus a kidney, the next.

Toy Story 4 embraces the usual wholesome themes, like the importance of cherishing your friends. (The director is Josh Cooley, working from a screenplay by Andrew Stanton and Stephany Folsom.) It also introduces one stellar new character, square-jawed Canadian daredevil Duke Caboom, voiced by man of the moment Keanu Reeves. Astride his tiny motorbike, working through his deep psychic trauma at having been tossed aside by his kid (a French Canadian ingrate named Réjean), or conquering his insecurities to save the day ("Yes, I Canada!"), Duke is the sensitive man of action we all need in our lives. If you've never had a crush on a toy, *Toy Story 4* may open new worlds for you. But you can still take the kids, I swear! □



Rousseff, left, and Lula

REVIEW

A requiem for democracy

For Petra Costa, democracy isn't just a system of government—it's a lodestar. Born in 1983 to parents who fought to end Brazil's military dictatorship, the filmmaker grew up amid a progressive wave that crested with the presidency of labor hero Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva. Now, Brazilian democracy is on the wane again: In 2016, his successor Dilma Rousseff was removed from office following an impeachment that some view as a coup. Lula's 2018 campaign for a third term ended with his imprisonment on dubious charges. Brazil's current President, Jair Bolsonaro, is a far-right populist.

Costa reckons with this upheaval in *The Edge of Democracy*, arriving on Netflix on June 19, an essay film that combines four decades of history with the story of her own politically divided family. Her access to Lula and Rousseff is remarkable, as is their frankness; imagine hearing Barack Obama openly confess his regrets in the backseat of a car. But it's Costa's eloquent reflections that reverberate across a world vulnerable to authoritarianism. "Fragile democracies have one advantage over solid ones," she says. "They know when they're over."

—Judy Berman

REVIEW

Country music crosses the pond

COUNTRY MUSIC MAY HAVE flowered in the U.S., but its roots—including fiddle tunes and ballads from the British Isles, many of them songs about lost loves and premature death—lie on the other side of an ocean. That's why the premise of the sweet and thorny U.K.-produced comedy-drama *Wild Rose* is hardly a stretch: Rose-Lynn, played with vigor by Irish actor and singer Jessie Buckley, is a feisty young singer from Glasgow who longs to find fame and fortune in Nashville. She's sure this dream is within her reach, even though she's just served a 12-month prison term and has two young children who, it becomes clear, have never exactly been her focus: During her prison stint, she's left them with her mother, Marion (a salty-stern Julie Walters), the only one truly invested in them. When, upon her release, Rose-Lynn returns to the family dinner table, her daughter Wynonna (Daisy Littlefield), a mite with dark, sad circles under her eyes, stares at her as if she were a ghost, and far less welcome.

Rose-Lynn lands a job working as a cleaning woman for Susannah (Sophie Okonedo), a posh lady who lives in a Glasgow mini-mansion and who seems

a little lost within her own comfortable life. Susannah takes an interest in Rose-Lynn and her music, not seeing that Rose-Lynn—charming, in a ballsy way, but also opportunistic—is taking advantage of her.

But Rose-Lynn is neither a wholly selfish character nor a selfless one, and her rough contours give *Wild Rose*—directed by Tom Harper and written by Nicole Taylor—its bite. Rose-Lynn does the wrong thing, over and over again: In one of the most wrenching sequences, she wastes time down at the pub while her kids wait dejectedly for the pizza she's promised them. Her route to redemption is crooked and laden with weeds; this isn't the simple rags-to-riches parable you might be expecting. But when Rose-Lynn opens her mouth to sing—her speaking voice has a Glaswegian burr, but her singing voice is all Tennessee—you're wheedled into forgetting her flaws and sins and wanting only the best for her and her kids. The sound that pours out of her, in songs of yearning and regret, of wanting to be bad and trying to be good, is a reminder that country music belongs to everyone. No matter where it was born, it's at home wherever it goes. —s.z.



In *Rose-Lynn (Buckley)*, a country star is born



The Real World gets rebooted—with mixed results

REVIEW

MTV stares into the generation gap

By Judy Berman

IF MTV EVER DIES, *THE REAL WORLD* will be in the first line of its obituary. After debuting in 1992, the pioneering reality series not only catalyzed the network's transformation into a youth lifestyle brand, but also managed to survive for 25 years. Even if the angsty, political Gen X seasons ended up giving way to fratty, drunken antics in the 2000s, the core concept—a diverse group of young people share a luxe home—was loose enough to change with the times.

It might've kept doing so had Generation Z not abandoned cable for streaming, while turning to YouTube and Instagram for their famous-for-being-famous fix. MTV canceled *The Real World* in 2017. Now, as it revives a handful of old franchises in an apparent overture to millennials who haven't cut the cord, the network's defining show is also back. But this time, it's meeting Gen Z on their home turf: the Internet.

With episodes debuting every Thursday on Facebook Watch, *The Real World: Atlanta* bills itself as an "all-new reality experience." As far as I can tell, that means viewers comment on the show's Facebook page and its

social-media team responds in emojis. It's edited at Instagram Story speed and optimized for outrage: Dondre—a gay, black, Christian conservative—exhorts Arely, a DACA recipient, that "you shouldn't come over here illegally." (She didn't.) Yasmin rattles off a list of her identities: Christian, Muslim, Buddhist, artist, feminist, queer, teacher. Whatever your politics, there's someone to push your buttons. To facilitate viral screenshots, the show prints provocative dialogue onscreen. It's all pretty awkward, but then, it's also clearly not meant for anyone who watched *The Real World: Seattle* in the 20th century.

Meanwhile, MTV proper is still betting on its cost-effective 2000s reality hits. Following last year's reunion, the *Jersey Shore* cast is all over the channel. And on June 24, *The Hills: New Beginnings* will test whether millennials are game to watch a glossier reality clique—now with the added wattage of *The O.C.* star Mischa Barton, because why not?—reconvene to drink, fight and scheme in their mid-30s. Say what you will about the new *Real World*, but at least it's not a nostalgia act. □



Thompson: riling the libs

REVIEW

This could be us

The future ain't what it used to be—and TV has noticed. Faced with nationalism, climate change and an anarchic Internet, it's offered up *Westworld*, *Black Mirror*, *The Handmaid's Tale*. *Years and Years*, which debuts on HBO on June 24, is the least extreme but most alarmist of these shows. Each episode covers a year in the life of the big, diverse Lyons family (think *This Is Us*' Pearsons but funnier, and British), from 2024 on.

Their privileged lives are destabilized by immigration chaos, banks in free fall, America, China, Russia. Britain has come under the spell of Vivienne Rook (a terrifyingly sharp Emma Thompson), a vitriolic businesswoman turned politician who combines elements of Trump and Marine Le Pen. Some of the Lyons are electrified by her populism; others are enraged.

Along with a superb cast led by Russell Tovey and Anne Reid, *Years and Years* boasts smart dialogue from creator Russell T. Davies (*Queer as Folk*, *A Very English Scandal*). But the show too often feels like an exercise in liberal masochism. Davies' dark future aligns so neatly with the present that the plot rarely surprises. Sentiments that seem obvious today are framed as revelations in the mid-2020s. "God, the world got complicated," one character sighs. Tell us something we don't know. —J.B.

YEARS AND YEARS: HBO; POSE: MACALL POLAY—FX

REVIEW

Category is: righteous fury

WHAT A DIFFERENCE THREE YEARS makes. New York ball-culture drama *Pose* set its first season in 1987, when the scene was still mostly underground. Though gay men and trans women of color had been forming houses to compete in drag and voguing contests since the early '70s, it took the attention of white outsiders—notably Madonna's 1990 hit "Vogue"—to bring the art form into the mainstream. It's in that heady moment that creators Ryan Murphy, Brad Falchuk and Steven Canals revisit the House of Evangelista for a dazzling, crushing and intentionally infuriating second season airing Tuesdays on FX.

Though the backdrop is a pop hit that fuels their fantasies of stardom, the characters' lives remain rough. HIV-positive Evangelista mom Blanca (Mj Rodriguez) distracts herself from her declining health by focusing on Angel's (Indya Moore) nascent modeling career and her own business aspirations. MC Pray Tell (Billy Porter, still showstopping) channels righteous anger about AIDS into the activism of ACT UP, climaxing in a die-in that echoes one of the group's real actions.

What's remarkable is how much *Pose* accomplishes thematically, with-

out sacrificing the specificity of each character. The die-in doesn't just reflect the desperate bravery of the LGBT community; it centers trans women of color in a movement they'd helped lead since Stonewall, but that has often erased them from the official history. Wisely dropping the straight white characters of Season 1 to further foreground its marginalized leads, Season 2 illustrates how so many denizens of ball culture suffered and died as a blissfully ignorant pop culture co-opted their cool.

Pose is another mainstream representation of the scene, but it avoids appropriating it. In scripts from Janet Mock and Our Lady J, both trans women, the new season emphasizes solidarity. "When the outside world tries to shut us down," haughty O.G. Elektra (Dominique Jackson) proclaims, "this army closes ranks."

The line captures both the show's spirit and its oft-criticized lack of subtlety. But realism isn't the only path to realness. Better to think of *Pose* as a musical, with balls instead of production numbers. For crafting this uncompromising second season, everyone involved in the show deserves to take a bow. —J.B.



Elektra (Jackson) serves more looks—and more solidarity—in the new season of *Pose*

To All Purchasers of Nabi® Tablet Computers: A Class Action Settlement May Affect Your Rights

WHO IS AFFECTED? You are affected by this class action settlement if you purchased, in the United States, a Nabi 2, Nabi 2S, Nabi XD, Nabi Jr. (including Nabi Jr. S) or Nabi DreamTab tablet ("Tablets"), unless you purchased your Tablet for resale or returned your tablet for a full refund or non-defective replacement.

This notice summarizes the proposed settlement. For the precise terms and conditions of the settlement, please see www.TabletSettlement.com or contact the Claim Administrator at the telephone number or address below.

WHAT DOES THIS CASE INVOLVE? A lawsuit was brought by a purchaser of a Tablet against Fuhu, Inc. ("Fuhu"), which sold the Tablets. The lawsuit claims that the Tablets were defective, in that they had a faulty charging system. Fuhu later filed for bankruptcy. The purchaser who started the lawsuit made a claim in the bankruptcy court (the "Court") on behalf of all other purchasers, for a share of Fuhu's remaining assets, which are now under the control of a liquidating trust ("Trust") managed by a liquidating trustee. The purchaser also demanded that Wistron Corporation ("Wistron"), which manufactured some of the Tablets, and D&H Distributing Company ("D&H"), which distributed some of the Tablets, compensate the purchasers. Both Wistron and D&H deny liability. Wistron and D&H each have submitted their own claims in the bankruptcy seeking a portion of Fuhu's remaining assets, contending that they were not fully paid for their goods and services.

WHAT DOES THE SETTLEMENT PROVIDE? The settlement assigns values to each of the asserted claims filed in the bankruptcy by the Class, by Wistron and by D&H. The Class, Wistron and D&H have agreed that the money they receive from the bankruptcy will go to the Class until up to \$3 million or more is paid to the Claims Administrator to distribute to the Class and pay other fees and costs. The liquidating trustee also has agreed to assign to the Class the Trust's right to seek money from one of Fuhu's former insurance companies.

Each Class member is permitted to file a claim under the settlement. Claimants who file valid claims will receive an equal share of the total recovered by the Class, for each Nabi® tablet they purchased that was not returned for a full refund or a nondefective replacement tablet. There will be a maximum distribution of \$10 per tablet, or \$30 per defective tablet, out of the first \$3 million paid to the Class. The actual amount paid to each claimant will depend on whether the tablet is defective, the number of valid claims, and the total ultimately received by the Class from the Trust, as well as the amount (if any) recovered by the Class from the insurance company. These amounts are not yet known.

HOW TO GET THE REFUND: To receive your payment, you must complete a claim form by August 20, 2019. The claim form is available at the settlement website. You can also obtain a claim form by contacting the Claim Administrator.

HOW TO OPT OUT OF THE SETTLEMENT: The settlement releases all claims by the purchasers, except it does not release claims against Wistron and D&H for personal injury or for damage to property other than damage to the Tablets themselves. If you wish to preserve your right to bring a separate lawsuit on the released claims, you must exclude yourself from the Class before August 20, 2019. Unless you exclude yourself from the settlement, you will be deemed to have consented to the Court's jurisdiction and authority to enter a final order upon the settlement.

OBJECTING TO THE SETTLEMENT: You can also object to any aspect of the settlement, the amount of attorneys' fees, costs, or the payment to the Plaintiffs. The objection deadline is August 20, 2019. For details on how to exclude yourself or object, please visit www.TabletSettlement.com or contact the Claim Administrator.

COURT HEARING AND ATTORNEYS' FEES: The Court will hold a hearing on September 10, 2019 at 10:00 a.m. Eastern Daylight Time to consider whether to approve the settlement. If the settlement is approved, the attorneys for Plaintiff will ask the Court for an award of (1) their out-of-pocket expenses, (2) up to \$1.5 million in attorneys' fees and (3) \$75,000 in incentive awards, all of which shall be paid out of the first \$3 million to be distributed to the Class. Additional fees may be sought if there is a further recovery for the Class.

Note that the hearing date may change without further notice to you. Consult the settlement website at www.TabletSettlement.com or the Court docket at <http://www.kccllc.net/fuhu>, for updated information on the hearing date and time.

For further information, please visit the settlement website: www.TabletSettlement.com. You may contact the Claim Administrator by phone at 1-844-269-3030 or by writing to Fuhu Tablet Settlement Claims Administrator, P.O. Box 404002, Louisville, KY 40233-4002. You may also contact class counsel at Gutride Safier LLP, 100 Pine Street, Suite 1250, San Francisco, CA 94111, or access the Court docket at <http://www.kccllc.net/fuhu>. The case is *In re Arctic Sentinel, Inc.*, United States Bankruptcy Court for the District of Delaware, Case No. 15-12465-CSS.



Prince wrote hits for other artists under a variety of pseudonyms

REVIEW

An icon in the credits

By Maura Johnston

PRINCE'S CAREER HAD MILESTONES IN EVERY DIRECTION. He released a slew of world-altering singles, from the smoldering "Little Red Corvette" to the lighters-up title track to *Purple Rain*. His live performances were the stuff of legend, whether they were unbridled jam sessions that stretched into the wee hours or stripped-down showcases where he put the sturdy bones of his songwriting on display. He challenged assumptions about race and gender identity with matter-of-fact statements and knowing asides, as well as massive grooves. Through it all, he exhibited an innate confidence that helped him excel on the business side of making music.

That last part is key to *Originals*, a collection of tracks Prince wrote for other artists that's been exhumed from the vault of recordings he kept at his home base, Paisley Park. That vault was drilled open shortly after Prince's death in 2016; earlier this year the first album culled from its treasures, the live album *Piano & a Microphone 1983*, was released. It showcased Prince, already a star but on the cusp of ascending to full-on '80s auteur status, accompanied only by a piano, playing sketches of songs that included the seeds of what would eventually become "Purple Rain."

Similarly, *Originals* documents Prince's always-on creative process. Collecting 15 songs that Prince wrote and then gave to other artists, both in his circle (the Time, Vanity 6) and outside of it (Kenny Rogers, the Bangles), it reveals where Prince directed all that productivity in the '80s and early '90s. Hearing Prince's voice in new contexts, even after three years, is a simultaneous jolt and balm. But even more

than that, *Originals* proves how deeply his artistry defined that era of pop.

TAKE "JUNGLE LOVE," which went on to become a signature song for Minneapolis-sound standard-bearers the Time. At the time of its release, it claimed writing credits from "Jamie Starr" and "The Starr Company"—both Prince aliases. Musically, Prince's demo of that 1984 single isn't too different, with flinty guitar licks and double-time grooves leading the way. Prince's louche drawl on "Jungle Love" doesn't have the frenzied edge of Time front man Morris Day's vocals, although it does have the "bring me a mirror" instruction that became a staple of the Time's tear-up-the-stage show. The version that reigns supreme today is certainly more of a realized pop song than the recording on *Originals*, but knowing just how meticulously Prince had planned out the song's trajectory is a marvel.

Many of the tracks on *Originals* were produced by Prince, often operating under an alias, in their final form, and these early takes show how much each song's path to pop dominance was divined in part by its eventual top-billed artist's strengths. For example, the demo of Sheila E.'s 1984 hit "The Glamorous Life" has the skronky sax and schoolyard-taunt chorus that helped the cautionary tale reach the top 10, but it's lacking Sheila E.'s vigorous drumming, which provided the song a second hook that made it leap out of radios. "Manic Monday," meanwhile, has the breezy piano melody that sent the Bangles' 1986 recording of that workaday lament to No. 2 on the charts intact, although the vocals—both from lead singer Susanna Hoffs and her bandmates, who supplied harmonies—possess more pathos in their ready-for-radio form.

Perhaps the most intriguing blue-print included on *Originals* is Prince's demo of "You're My Love," which he wrote for country king Kenny Rogers. (He used the pseudonym Joey Coco.) Simply arranged and sung by Prince in his resonant lower register, it offers a glimpse of young Prince as a chilled-out maestro of grownup love songs. His dexterity there, as on all these songs, provides yet another reminder of what pop lost when he left. □



Originals, out June 21, rounds up Prince's work for other acts

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7 Questions

Lonnie G. Bunch III The 14th secretary of the Smithsonian on his new job, the value of pandas and how to make the past personal

You've said you can tell a lot about a place by what it deems worth preserving. What does the Smithsonian say about America?

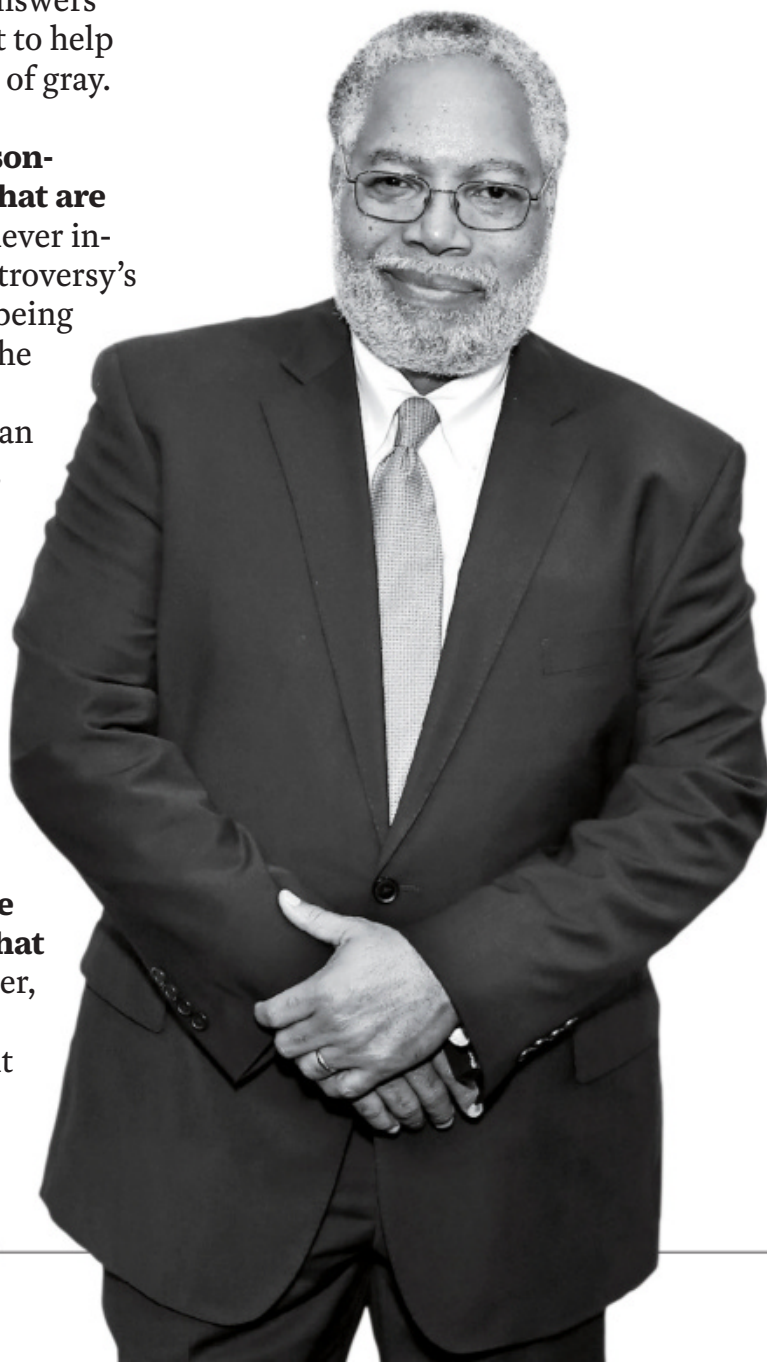
When I started in '89 at [the National Museum of] American History, the collections reflected a 1950s interpretation of America—great men or women. Over the past 30 years, the Smithsonian has made strides to making sure the story it tells is reflective not just of the diversity but of the issues that have shaped America. I think the Smithsonian is doing a good job at helping us understand what it means to be an American.

So what does it mean? What it means is that there's always been debate. One of the great things that the Smithsonian collections [do] is to help the public recognize there aren't simple answers to complex questions. We want to help people wrestle with the shades of gray.

How do you think the Smithsonian should approach issues that are divisive? The Smithsonian is never interested in controversy for controversy's sake. What it's interested in is being driven by scholarship. One of the lessons we learned in building the [National Museum of African American History and Culture, of which he was founding director] is the public has a real interest in the unvarnished truth, if it's done in a way that allows them to grapple with it and not feel guilty. I have great faith in the American people's ability to listen, understand and to debate.

The narrative one hears these days is often the opposite. What gives you that faith? Remember, I'm a historian. I understand there have been these vehement debates throughout American history. They aren't always resolved, but they find a middle ground often.

“WE WANT TO HELP PEOPLE WRESTLE WITH THE SHADES OF GRAY”



Almost 20 years ago, in an article on diversity in museums, you wrote about being mistaken for an elevator operator at one; you've just become the first African-American secretary of the Smithsonian. How much have things changed? What I've seen is change in the assumptions that have opened doors at the entry level for a more diverse workforce. There still is a great need at the higher levels and at the board level. I am a little disappointed that I'm still having the same conversations, but I'm pleased that there seems to be movement—and I know that my hire is a symbolic challenge to museums around the world.

You've spoken about being influenced by your grandfather, a sharecropper who became a dentist. How do you see the relationship between personal history and history with a capital H? I think we need to recognize that if we can make history personal, find the connections with the public, we'll be able to help them see the broader issues. Anyone who's seen the great interest in genealogy recognizes there's a thirst for history.

I imagine learning about family history in a Smithsonian context is very different from getting some “50% European” result from one of those tests. Exactly. I am 20% Irish—that's nice to know, but I think it's important for people to really understand, what does that mean? What does it mean for African Americans and Irish immigrants to work near each other in urban settings? For me these opportunities for understanding yourself should really lead to questions of understanding yourself within the context of America.

Leading the Smithsonian means you're also in charge of the National Zoo. Does that come with any perks? I have two grandchildren who are 4 and 1, so I hope that I can wow them by showing them the pandas. —LILY ROTHMAN

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